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Puritan Shift: Evolution of Ahl-i-Hadith Sect in the Punjab; A Discursive Study (1880-1947)

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Puritan Shift: Evolution of *Ahl-i Hadith* Sect in the Punjab; A Discursive Study (1880-1947)

Submitted to GC University Lahore
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

Ph D

In

History

By

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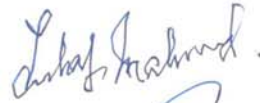
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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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It has been evaluated and the quantum and quality of the work contained in this thesis is found to be adequate for the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

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DEDICATED

To

My Parents and teachers

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Transliteration

This thesis utilizes several Hindi, Persian, Urdu and Punjabi words. All the words or terms except the proper nouns or words that are familiar in English, all the other words or terms italicized in the text. I have transliterated foreign terms primarily on the pattern of John T Platts's *A Dictionary of Urdu, Clasical Hindi, and English.* I also follow Barbara D. Metcalf's scheme which she used in her work *Islamic Revivalism in British India.* I differ with Platts in the use of Urdu letters غ and چ. He transliterates these letters as 'g' and 'c' respectively whereas I use 'gh' for the alphabet غ and ch for چ. I used in this thesis *Ahl-i-Hadith* instead of Ahl-i-hadīs used by Platts. Furthermore, I used the ezafat by –i- rather than –e-.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the puritanical impact of *Ahl-i-Hadith* revivalist movement on the transition of the Sufi ethos of the Punjab during the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. One can define Shrine-centered Islamic tradition as a defining feature of the Sufi ethos in the Punjab during the medieval period (11^{th}-18^{th} centuries). The Sufi ethos constitutes equality, social justice, *Suleh Kul*, *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* ideology, and accommodationist vision. All these factors of the Sufi tradition of the Punjab created pluralistic outlook among the masses. This tradition left indelible imprints on the local culture, particularly imparting values like tolerance, humanism, and social equality. The growth of Shrine-centered Islam in the Punjab was a reaction against the social stratification solidified by the caste system which became more rigid with the passage of time. The origin of this tradition dates back to Vedantic tradition, however, its contours were further sharpened when Ibn Arabi's (1165-1240) *Wajudi* ideas permeated in the philosophical discourse of sufis in the subcontinent. In Punjab, Baba Farid Ganj Shakar (1175-1265) emerged as the main exponent of this philosophy.

The reform movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith* ultimately questioned this strong Sufi tradition since later half of the nineteenth century. The study deals with the subsequent religious transition of a reasonable segment of the Punjabi Muslims. It concentrates on the particular aspects of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement i.e.; emphasis on scriptural Islam, direct recourse to Quran and *Hadith*, opposition to the prevailing four schools of Islamic Jurisprudence, rejection of all sufi forms of Islam (*muharram*, urs, *qawwāli*, *gyārahwin* of Abdul Qadir Jillani, pilgrimage to the graves of the Prophets and saints, *majlis-i-milād* (birth anniversary of Holy Prophet), *simah-i-maota* (listening of the dead) and observance of various ceremonies associated with death rites, i.e. *Qul sharif*, *Satavan* (seventh day ceremony after death) and *Chaliswan* (ceremony on the fortieth day after death). Rejection of contemplation and attempts to expunge Sufism remained the hallmark of this movement as they emphasized on this -worldly responsibilities of the Muslims rather than out-worldly asceticism (denial of this world and bodily contemplation) of the Sufis.

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and towns of the Punjab and engaging in *munāzara* tradition with non-Muslims (Arya Samajis, Christian missionaries,) and Muslim sects (Shias, Barelvis, Deobandis, and Ahmadis) were able to draw a certain segment of the Muslim population towards them.

Moreover, this study seeks to establish a connection between the contestation of puritanical *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement with the colonial modernity; such as the western type of education and Missionary Agency, translation of scriptures into local languages and technology of printing. This agency of modernity helped in solidifying the literal interpretation of the *Quran* and *Hadith* that was the main feature of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement. By emphasizing this aspect, I do not suggest that this contestation led *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement to re-conciliate with modernity rather it highlights how this Movement made use of various tools of modernity for the dissemination of its puritanical teachings. The *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement tried it best to adopt those features of the Colonial modernity that helped them in the dissemination of their ideas far and wide of the country. This movement was primarily sprouted from Delhi and spread throughout India and hence in the Punjab. The scholars of this movement stood for the cause of Islam declared the Sufi practices as innovations and created a reasonable following. This thesis attempts to formulate a new and comprehensive analysis of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement.

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Puritan Shift: Evolution of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Sect in the Punjab; A Discursive Study (1880-1947)

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INTRODUCTION

0.1 Statement of the Problem

There has been an upsurge of religious extremism, increasing sectarian violence, incidents of religious intolerance against minorities since the 1980s. The growing acceptance of *Jihad*i organizations in the society can also be construed as another manifestation of the phenomenon. The reports of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), International Crisis Group Reports, various studies that NGO"s conduct and writings of journalists and scholars like Rahim ullah Yousafzai, Muhammad Amir Rana, Khaled Ahmed, and Ahmed Rashid provide more details about the incidents. Whatever the way in which one frames the phenomenon of extremism, the common thread that runs across the incidents is puritanical Islam. These manifestations of extremism prompted a number of scholars to investigate the subject in a long term perspective. The works of Sana Haroon [2007], Ayesha Jalal[2008], and Jawad Syed et.al [2016] attempt to explore the roots of these incidents. Another stream of scholarship on *madrasa*[religious seminaries or theological institutions] characterized by the works of Barbara Metcalf[1982], Francis Robinson [2001], and Yoginder Sikand [2002] also afford us penetrating insights into the rise of puritanical Islam in Northren India. Cumulatively, both streams of scholarships have provided us with corpora of literature on *Jihad*i Islam, Deoband, Tableeghi Jamat, and *Madrasa*-e-Frangi Mahal. One of the purposes of choosing *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement as a topic of the doctoral dissertation was that I wanted to locate my work with these two larger streams of scholarships.

It would be relevant to briefly allude to the factors that led to the rise of extremism and faith-based violence in the country. Broadly speaking various scholars have earmarked a number of factors like mullah—military alliance or khaki—mullah alliance that promoted a specific brand of Islamization during the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88). This agenda in certain ways brought about or resulted into a perceptible shift from Islamization to *Shariatization*.[1] The other facilitating factors included the Iranian Revolution in 1979,

[1] Farzana Sheikh, "From Islamization to Shariatization: CulturalTransnationalism in Pakistan" Third World Quartely, 29, 3 (2008): 593-610.

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certain ways. In addition to these, the spread of Salafi[3] (*Ahl-i-Hadith*) influence in the urban areas of Pakistan and sprouting of the cornucopia of its affiliates like the *Lashkar-i-Taiba* (army of the pure)[4] and the *Dawat-ul-Irashad* that openly espoused the *Jihadi* ideology also led to the spread of extremism in the society.[5]

I argue in the study that the puritanical streak of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement created a major challenge to the Shrine-centered Islam in India particularly colonial Punjab.[6] A number of factors such as the influences of Ibn Taymiyya's teachings, effects of Wahhabi movement and the collision of Waliullah's movement with the colonial modernity helped to shape and reinforce the puritanical attitude of leaders and followers of the movement. The puritanical upbringing of the pioneers/*ulama* of the movement influenced the *madrasa*s and the development of syllabus content that was taught in the *Ahl-i-Hadith* religious seminaries.[7] *Ahl-i-Hadith*'s challenges to Shrine-centered Islam fermented sectarian strife and led to the intensification of communal antagonism.

As the argument of the study particularly highlights the puritanical streaks of the movement, I would add the caveat that one should not be oblivious to the fact that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* was not the only movement to challenge the ethos of Shrine-centered Islam rather the history of puritanical reform movements testifies to the fact that *Deobandi*

---

[2] The Arabic word *Jihad* means an effort, strive or struggle. It has several meanings in Islamic context such as a struggle against one's leaning towards evils, an effort towards the moral betterment of the Muslim society or fighting against the infidels. Here the word Jihad is used in the meanings of 'holy war'.
[3] The word salafi comes from the word salaf which means adherents. The salafi uphold the reform of the Muslim society by urging the followers to go to the pristine time of the Holy Prophet and his followers.
[4] Hafiz Saeed and Abdullah Yussuf Azzam (1941-89) known as the father of Global Jihad) founded Lashkar-e-Tayba in 1987. It based its headquarter in Muridkee, near Lahore in Pakistan.
See Peter Rudolph, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford university Press).
[5] Christophe Jafferlot, *Pakistan: Nationalism Without A Nation* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2002), 141-43.
Presently, there are about eighteen groups of Ahl-i-Hadith sect working in Pakistan. Of them, three are political character, six are sectarian, five have educational and missionary zeal and five play militant role. See Muhammad Amir Rana "Evolution of Militant Groups in Pakistan" *Conflict and Peace Studies,* Volume 4, no.2, 12-13
[6] I have preferred to use the term "Shrine-centered"Islam , which I borrow the meaning from Usha Sanyal's work , *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi and His Movement1870—1920* , (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996). The other characteristic features of the "devotional Islam" were that it represented the culture of saints and shrines and it developed more tolerant attitude among its followers. The Table 0.1 lists the operative words that major scholars of South Asian Islam and Sufism have used to give clear idea to the readers about the alternative ways of defining the phenomenon.
[7] Puritan in this study means the adherents of Holy scripts (Quran and Hadith). The puritans of Christianity were those who opposed the unscriptural ceremonial worship and preached a more rigorous code than the ceremonial worship which was prevailed. The Ulamā of Ahl-i-Hadith sect were puritans in this manner as they preached scriptural teachings as compared to the other sects of the Islam since the late nineteenth century in India.

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the intermediary between God and man.[8] I further argue that comparison of teachings of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Deoband shows that the former was uncompromizing in terms of its belief system as well as the total rejection of the practices of Shrine-centered Islam, mainly because of the fact that *Ahl-i-Hadith* were *ghair-i-muqallid* (non-conformists) whereas Deobandis were *muqallid*, that is why the latter only challenged certain beliefs and practices of sufi-Islam. Hence, the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement presented a major challenge to the entire culture of the Sufi's domination in Punjab inspite of the fact that their size in population was quite small.[9] Nevrtheless they exerted disproportoinately wide or far reaching influence as compared to their size in population.

Table 0.1: Numerical Strenght of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab between 1881 and 1931

Years	The size of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the population of Punjab
1881	2,456
1891	3,604
1911	39,083
1921	60,327
1931	182,544

Sources: *Census of India*,[1881, 1891, 1911, 1921 and 1931].

Table 0.1 shows the size of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the population of the province was 2,456 expanded to182,544 that reflects an exponential/ substantial increase of 7441.66 percent between the years 1881 and 1931, as the census repotrs of five decades reveal. Another impotrant trend that emerges from the comparative study of the increase in the population of the major Musim sects in Punjab between 1921 and 1931 indicates that the population size of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had increased substantially as compared to increase in population levels of the other major Muslim sects in the province. Table 0.2 provides us with useful insights about this fact.

Table 0.2:The Percentage of increase in the Population of Muslim Sects between Years 1921and 1931

Sects	1921	1931	Increase in Percentage
All Sects	12,813,383	14,929,896	16.5 %
Shias	256,629	338,799	32%
Sunnis	12,466,791	14,276.642	14.5%
Ahl-i-Hadith	60,327	182,544	202.6%
Ahmadis	28,816	55,908	94%

Source: Census of India, 1931, Vol. XVII, Punjab, part I, 313.

[8] Richard M. Eaton argued in his book *Essays on Islam and Indian History* that the entire culture of saints and shrines was opposed by the Deoband Movement.[8]

[9] By highlighting/foregrounding the puritanical streaks of the teachings the enquiry does not intend to predetermine the assumptions about the radical and militant character of the movement. As I argue in Chapter 4 of the enquiry that the Ahl-i-Hadith cannot be associated with a single political group or stance.

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Muslims in the Punjab. It showed that the population size of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the Punjab had increased much rapidly between 1921 and 1931 as compared to the poulation levels of the other major sects of Muslims. For instance their number in the population of the pronince increased from 60,327 to 182,544 between 1921 and 1931. that increase in the size of population *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect reflects a substaitial increase of 202.6 percent.

Though the massive increase in the size of *Ahl-i-Hadith* population in Punjab can be taken as the key indicator of the increasing popularity of the movement among the Muslim sects (as the Table 0.1 and 0.2) amply demonstrates. These facts and figures in certain ways reinforce our argument that the movement exerted more pervasive influence on the religious ethos of Muslims of the province as compared to the numerical strength of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the population. I would like to particularly emphasize the point that the far-reaching influence of the movement cannot be quantitatively assessed merely through by showing the increase in the size of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the Muslim population of the province. Instead, a focus on the profound influences of *Ahl-i-Hadith ulama* on the the social and cultural life of Muslims can enable us to develop a richer understanding of the movement.

The study examines the phenomenon of the development of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in colonial Punjab. It analyzes the role of *Ahl-i-Hadith* seminaries and highlights their influence on the ethos of the Shrine-Centered Islam in colonial Punjab[10]. It also deals with the key aspects of the influence of *Ahl-i-Hadith* on the Muslims of colonial Punjab, particularly their social and cultural life.[11] Besides this, the study focuses that how the contestation between puritanically inspired *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement and upholders of the Shrine-Centered ethos sharpened the communal antagonism in the Punjab.

Moreover, the study of the historical context of the movement may also open a window into the phenomenon of the swift rise of the Salafia Islam in the urban centers in post-colonial Pakistan particularly since the 1980's. From that period onwards

[10] Chapter two of the present study deals with the growth of Ahl-i-Hadith Movement in the Colonial Punjab. In chapter five, I analyse the influences of Ahl-i-Hadith Movement on the Shrine-centered Islam in the colonial Punjab.

[11] How the Ahl-i-Hadith was influencial to draw impact on the social and cultural life of the society? These social and cultural aspects of the Ahl-i-Hadith movement can be traced throughout the study and especially in the third chapter relating the munaza activities of the Ahl-i-Hadith against non-Muslims and also the other sects of the Muslims. Also in the transition of religious ethos of the Punjab towards puritanical teachings.

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highly instrumental in the spreading of Salafia influences in the country.

It would be relevant to explain that the scholars of Islam in South Asia have used a number of operative words to describe influences of Sufism on Islam in South Asia. Table 0.3 provides a list of the operative words that the major scholars of Islam in South Asia have uded to depict sufi Islam.

Table 0.3: The Operative words the Major Scholars of Islam in South Asia have used to describe Sufi Islam

Name of the Scholar	Word/phrase Used	Used in Research work
Barbara Daly Metcalf	Sufi Islam	Several works such as in Islamic Revival in British India and Islam in South Asia: In Practice
Francis Robinson	Other-Worldly Islam	Other-worldly and This-Worldly Islam and the Islamic Revival
Muhammad Arkoun (1928-2010), an Algerian Scholar	Sufism	Rethinking Islam: Common Questions, Uncommon Answers.
Richard M. Eaton	Shrine-Centered Islam	Essays on Islam and Indian History
C. A. Bayly	Syncretism[12]	Origin of Nationality in South Asia
Nile Green's	Sufism	*Indian Sufism Since the Seventeenth Century*
Annemarie Schimmel	Mystical Islam	Mystical Dimensions of Islam
Martin Van Bruinessen	Popular Islam	Sufism. 'Popular Islam and the Encounter with Modernity
Usha Sanyal	Popular Religion	Devotional Islam and Politics in British India
J. Spencer Triminghum	Sufi Islam	The Sufi Orders in Islam

Source: Barbara Daly Metcalf, Several works such as in *Islamic Revival in British India* and *Islam in South Asia: In Practice* ; Francis Robinson, "Other-Worldly and This-Worldly Islam and the Islamic Revival"; Muhammad Arkoun (1928-2010), an Algerian Scholar, *Rethinking Islam: Common Questions, Uncommon Answers*; Richard M. Eaton, *Essays on Islam and Indian History*; C. A. Bayly, *Origin of Nationality in South Asia*; Nile Green, *Indian Sufism Since the Seventeenth Century*; Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*; Martin Van Bruinessen, "Sufism. Popular Islam and the Encounter with Modernity"; Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam, and Politics in British India*.

Table 0.3 lists the operative words that major scholars of South Asian Islam and Sufism have used to give a clear idea to the readers about the alternative ways of defining the phenomenon. Of this words, I have preferred to use in the study the word "Shrine-centred Islam" which Richard M. Eaton, a scholar of South Asian Islam, has used in his work entitled the *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, which appeared in 2000.[13] The term "Shrine-centered" Islam, means the "devotional Islam".[14] The other

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[12] According to the *American Heritage Dictionary,* Syncretism means reconciliation or fusion of different systems of belief, as in philosophy or religion, the merging of two or more originally different inflectional forms. Religious syncretism exhibits the blending of two or more religious system into a new tradition. According to Catholic Encyclopedia syncretism means to designate the fusion of pagan religions. It is the process by which elements of one religion are assimilated into another religion resulting in a change in the fundamental tenets or nature of those religions. The Sufi ethos that constitutes equality, social justice, *Suleh Kul*, *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* ideology and accommodationist vision was syncretic. All these factors of syncretic tradition created pluralistic outlook among the Sufis.

[13] Richord M. Eaton, *Essays on Islam and Indian History* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000) .

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muridi culture of saints and shrines that had helped to develop a more tolerant attitude among its followers. This term would be used throughout this study.

0.2 Contextualising the Rise of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement

The section examines the major influences that led to the rise of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. The discussion spreads over the next three sub-sections. Sub-section .0.2.1 examines the impact of the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya. The next sub-section traces the impact of Waliullahi movement on *Ahl-i-Hadith*. The following sub-section looks at the issue of collision of the Waliullahi movement with Modernity. It explains its effects on the Waliullahi and as well the overall discourse of Muslim reform and revivalism.

0.2.1 The Influence of Teachings of Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328)

Usually, it is assumed that *Salafia* Islam played a key role in the rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. The Wahhabi Movement[15] and Waliullahi Movement are considered as the agencies of the *Salafia* Islam in the subcontinent. Without de-emphasizing the role the afore-mentioned movements had played in the rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement, I argue that while tracing the origins/ roots of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in India one needs to take into consideration the influence of the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya, a medieval Hanbali scholar. The latter, in the thirteenth century, had issued a fatwa denouncing the visits to shrines.[16] One can analogyze the role of the teaching of Ibn Taymiyya as a "seed" for the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement that grew into a tree under the influence of Wahhabi and Waliullahi movements; the latter assumed even more puritanical hues when it collided with Modernity in the nineteenth century.

The local historian of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement claim that earliest teachers of Hadith literature in the subcontinent acted as the carriers of this movement. But this claim, if subjected to critical scrutiny appears over-simplistic. For instance, a number of exponents of shrine-centered Islam like Moin-ud-Din Ajmeri (d-1236), Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiar Kaki (1173-1235), Nizam-ud-Din Auliya (1238-1325) and Baha-ud-Din

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[14] I borrow the meaning from Usha Sanyal's work, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi and His Movement1870—1920*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[15] The founder of Wahabi Movement was Muhammad bib Abdul Wahab Najdi (1703-1792).
[16] Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmad (ed), *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times* (London: Oxford University Press, 2010), 304-5.

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can argue that a number of Ulama and theologians who went to perform hajj (pilgrimage) over the centuries got inspired by teachings of Ibn Taymiyya and upon their return, spread the influence of his teachings in India.

Muhammad Ishaq, a scholar of Dacca University, in one of his work in 1955 divided the history of dissemination of Hadith literature into four distinct phases. He shows that the proliferation of Hadith literature began with the Arab conquest of Sind as the centers of dissemination of Hadith were established in Al-Mansuara and Multan. But the process of dissemination of Hadith suffered a serious setback when these territories fell under the control of Ismailis.

The Ghaznavid conquest marks the beginning of the second phase of publication of Hadith literature. Aman al-Sighani (d-650 A. H) was the most renowned Hadith scholar of that period, who authored *Mashariq-ul-Anwar*. He also produced an edited work of *Sahih Bukhari*.[17](written by Imam Ismail Bukhari 810-870 A.D).

The period of Sultanate rule (1206-1526) saw the emergence of scholars of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) instead of *Muhadathin* (Hadith scholars). Nevertheless, a number of Sufis of the period like Sheikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya (1170-1262), Nizam-ud-Din Auliya (1238-1325), Sheikh Sharf-ud-Din Yahya Muneri and Sahab al-Hamidi had also made their niche as scholars of Hadith.

The fourth period saw the establishment of what Muhammad Ishaq describes "a renewed connection. The period was characterized by the rise of Bahmani states in Daccan (1348—1528) and Muzzafar Shahi kingdom in Gujrat that had emerged as independent states. These kingdoms had established connections with the land of Arabia through the sea. The rulers of these states employed the scholars of Hadith in different capacities as teachers, translators, and compilers.

The scheme of periodizing of the development of the Hadith literature helps us to understand the role of scholars of Hadith as one of the earliest agencies that proved

[17] Muhammad Ishaq, *India' Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature* (Dacca: The University of Dacca, 1955), 22-55.

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presume that the Muslims pilgrims of Hijaz also functioned as another agency.

The scheme of periodization that Muhammad Ishaq has developed to historicize the process of dissemination of Hadith literarture broadly coincides with the Muslim rule in the subcontinent; it shows that the regions like Al-Mansura, Multan, Delhi, and the Bahmani Kingdoms of Deccan and Muzzafar Shahi kingdom major centers of the process.

Another significant development that expedited the process of spread of ideology of Ibn Taymiyya was the rise of the Wahabi movement launched by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab (1703-1792), a religious preacher hailing from Nejid.[18] This movement also proved effective agency of disseminating the religious message of Ibn Taymiyya.

During the formative period of development of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect, the influence of Wahhabis on *Ahl-i-Hadith* was so pronounced that the critics of *Ahl-i-Hadith* particularly the British administrators, began to treat *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Wahabi movement as the same.[19] Later *Ahl-i-Hadith* had made concerted efforts that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect should not be addressed as Wahabis [section 2.1 of the of Chapter 2 provides details of the theme].

The next two sub-sections examine the role of some other factors such as the influence of the Waliullahi movement on *Ahl-i-Hadith* and the collision of the Modernity with the latter. As a result of the encounter, the Waliullahi movement assumed more puritanical hues. Both the factors, in certain ways, sharpened the puritanical streaks of the *Ahl-i-Hadith*.

0.2.2 The Impact of Waliullahi Movement

The previous subsection examined the role of influences of Ibn Taymiyya's teachings on the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. It showed that how the scholars of Hadith

[18] Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab ushered a puritanical movement in Arabia. The movement called for a return to pristine time of the Prophet. He championed to follow the Quran and Sunnah and rejected the popular Sufism.
[19] As mentioned earlier that Wahabi movement was launched by Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahab,. It was profoundly influenced by the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya by and large it became one of the most influential carriers of the Ahl-i-Hadith influences across the Muslim world. the founder of Arabian based Wahhabi[19] Movement

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to Hijaz served as main agencies of the introduction of teachings of Ibn Taymiyya. This sub-section shifts the focus of discussion to Waliullahi movement, which profoundly influenced the whole generations of Muslim reformers and revivalist leaders in India in the second half of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries. The section explains that how and in what ways the Waliullahi movement influenced the discourse of reform and revivalism in India in general and *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in particular.

I argue in the section that the reformist zeal of the leaders and followers of Waliullahi movement, its specific emphasis on scriptural Islam had a profound intellectual influence on the *Ahl-i-Hadith* as well the other reform and revivalist movements like Deoband. Cumulatively, the entire process reinforced the puritanical streaks of Muslim revival and reform movements in India, particularly in colonial Punjab.

The reformist zeal of exponents of Waliullahi movement Shah Waliullah, his sons Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824), Shah Abdul Qadir (d.1815), Shah Rafi-ud-Din(d.1818), Shah Ismial (1799-1831) , the grandson of Shah Waliullah, Shah Muhammad Ishaq (1778--1846), the maternal grandson of Shah Abdul Aziz infused all the aspects of Muslim reform and revivalism in India. Waliullahi movement also influenced the pioneers of other reform movements like *Jihad* movement, the Deoband and even Aligarh.[20] The other prominent reformers of the era Mumluk Ali (1788-1751) and Muhammad Qasim Nanotvi (1833-1880) were also disciples of the family of Shah Waliullah.

Quite understandably, any academic work on a religio-reform movement like *Ahl-i-Hadith* should not overlook the larger context. Even more significant is the fact that both the pioneers of the *Ahl-i-Hadith*—Nawab Siddiq Hasan(d.1890) and Syed Nazir Hussain (1805—1902) directly got inspiration from the Waliullahi movement. The father of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan participated in the *Jihad* movement whereas Sayed Nazir Hussain received his religious education from the *madrasa-i-Rahimiya*—that was founded by Shah Abdur Rahim, the father of Shah Waliullah. Nazir Hussain also became a pupil of Shah Muhammad Ishaq, the maternal grandson of Shah Abdul Aziz.[21]

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[20] For instance, the Jehad movement was one of direct off-shoots of the Waliullahi movement. The founders of Jehad movement Syed Ahmad (1786—1831) and Shah Ismial (1799—1831) took inspiration from Waliullhi movement.

[21] Section 2.2 of the Chapter 2 provides more details about the theme.

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that it facilitated a shift toward scriptural Islam. In fact, exponents and scholars of Waliullahi movement had made strenuous efforts to produce an extensive body of literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that besides initiating the process of revival and reform brought about a perceptible and long-term shift toward the scriptural Islam. Table 0.4 lists important works of exponents of Waliullahi movement to indicate a pronounced shift toward scriptural Islam.[22]

Table 0.4: The Influential Works and Translations of the Exponents of Waliullahi Movement

The Name of the Scholar	The Title of the Work/Translation
Shah Waliullah (1703-62)	▪*Fath al-Rahman fi Tarjamatul Quran*,[The Quranic translation in Persian]. ▪*Muqaddama dar fann-i-tarjama-i- Quran*. ▪*Al-fawz al-kabir fi usul-i-tafsir* [a tract on principles of Tafsir]. ▪ *Al- musaffa* and Al-musawwa[The two interpretations of *Al-muwatta*, Imam Malik's compilation of Hadith]. ▪ *Maktubat ma' manaqib-i- Bukhari wa fadilat-i- Ibn Taymiyya*. ▪*Shah Tarajam ba'd abwab Bukhari*. ▪*Ta'wil al-ahadith*. ▪*Hujjat-Allah al-baligha*.
Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824)	▪*Jawahir-i-Azizi* [The literary translation of Quran] ▪*Tohfa-i-Asna Ashriya*
Shah Rafi-ud-Din (d-1818)	▪*Al-quran-i-karim* [The literal translation of Quran in Urdu].
Shah Abdul Qadir (d-1815)	▪*Al-quran-i-Hakim ma Tarjama:Tafsir-i-Siraj-al-Bayan*[The literary translation of Quran]. ▪*Mansab-i-Imamat*. ▪*Taqwiyat-al-iman*
Syed Ahmed Shaheed (1786—1831)	▪*Sirat ul-mustaqim*. ▪ *Taqwiyat-al-iman*. ▪*Tanwir-ul-Ai'neein*. ▪*Ezah-ul-Haq*.
Shah Muhammad Ishaq (1196AH-1262AH)	▪*Masail Arbaeen* [a work on Indian Wahhabism]. ▪Translation of *Mishkat al –masabih*[by Imam Wali-ud-Din Ibn Abdullah aI-Kaheeb(d.742)]

Source: Sayid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Shah Wali-Allah and his Times* (Canberra:1980), 415.; Muhammad Sarwar, *Armagan-i-Shah Waliullah* (Lahore); Rasheed Ahmed, *Muslamanoon kay Siasey Afkar* (Lahore), 223.; Payam Shahjahanpuri, *Shahadatgah-i-Balakot* (Lahore:1971). Abdullah Butt, *Shah Ismial Shaheed*, (Lahore:1943), and Muhammad Abdul Haleem Chishty, "Tazkara-i-Shah Muhammad Ishaq az Haqiqat-i-Tariqat", *Al-Rahim* (Hyderabad), April:1968, 853-856.

Table 0.4 shows that how the exponents of Waliullahi movement placed specific emphasis on the Quranic translations, rendering the important works of the Hadith literature in Urdu and writing those texts having puritanical streaks. The *Ahl-i-Hadith* chose some of the works as key texts. The section 2.7.1 of Chapter 2 shows that *Ahl-i-Hadith* gave particular emphasis on publication works of *sufis* having puritanical streaks and a large chunk of the publications of the movement constituted works of Sheikh

[22] S A. A. Rizvi, *Shah Waliullah and His Times* (Canberra: Ma;rifat Publishing House, 1980), 415.

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publications of works of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyum.

The larger impact of the development was that it contributed in certain ways toward drawing the attention of the Muslim reform and revival movements toward the scriptural Islam. Consequently, in the mid of the situation when Muslim power had declined, the Muslim reformers [that were largely influenced by Waliullahi movements and its off-shoots] brought a major change in their strategy. The next section provides its further illustration.

What emerges from the discussion in the section is that, cumulatively, a number of influences of the Waliullahi movement like the reformist zeal of its exponents, the movement's specific focus on the scriptural Islam and the puritanical streaks of the writings of its exponents in certain ways reinforced the puritanical streaks of the *Ahl-i-Hadith*.

The next two sub-sections 0.2.2 and 0.2.3 examine the role of some other factors such as the impact of the Waliullahi movement and the latter's collision with Modernity.

0.2.3: The Advent of Modernity in India and its Encounter with the Waliullahi Movement

The previous two sub-sections, while tracing the formative influences on the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement, examined the role of the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya and the influences of Waliullahi movement. This sub-section dicusses the theme that how as a result of the collision of Waliullahi movement with Modernity and Waliullahi movement the syncretic ethos of the latter were diluted/displaced. Moreover, Modernity opened up new avenues for reform and revival movements to express their viewpoint publically. It also touches on a number of ctitical issues. Should it be accepted without any caveat that whether there prevailed religious harmony in India more specifically in precolonial Punjab? Should one take a reified view of the syncretic ethos of the Punjab before the advent of the British? How and in what ways the advent of Modernity brought out the change in authoritative interpretations of Islam? Can we make a comparison between the collision of Modenity with Christianity and the collision of Modernity with the Muslim reform and revival movements in India /Waliullahi movement? Another closely related question is that

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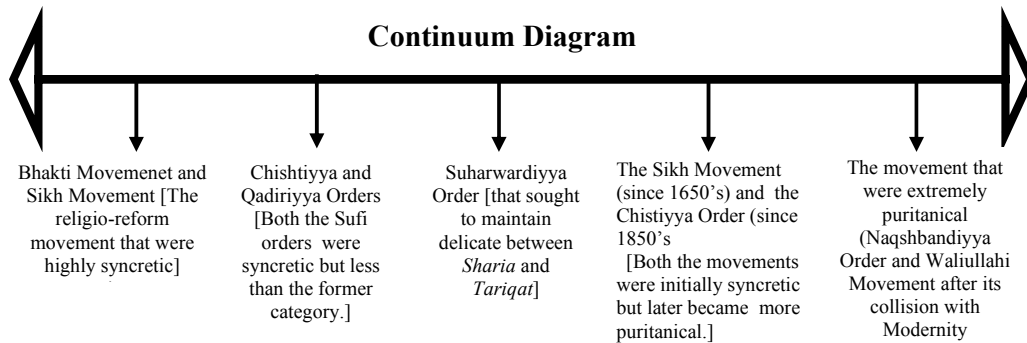
the tools or agencies of Modernity like print culture, loudspeaker and the modern hieraichal structure of the education system?

Scholars hold different views about the ethos of Punjab before the advent of British in India. There is a perception that there prevailed religious harmony in India and the occurrence of communal riots was considered as the exception rather than norms. Thus, the prevalence of communal harmony fostered syncretic ethos. Parm Gill, a scholar of Punjab, while referring to the situation wrote in 2011that:

> Religious tolerance and syncretism, is an age-old as well as a continuing tradition in Punjab, even after the partition. There are a number of way areas where syncretistic intersection occurred between these religions; sharing holy sites, shared beliefs, and shared worship of saints and holy men.[23]

This line of argumentation creates an impression of the homogeneous and unified character of Sufism. This study that assesses the *Ahl-i-Hadith* challenge to syncretic tradition does not seek to overemphasize the homogenous and reified character of Shrine-centered Islam. I argue in the work that there were a number of movements in the Punjab that were inspired by syncretic influences but one should not lump them together. Rather, I argue that some of them more syncretic/ plural or accomodationist in terms of their orientation than the others. Even some of them, which were considered more syncretic later after few centuries assumed puritanical hues. Diagram 1 provides an illustrative example of the phenomenon.

The diagram places the Suhrawardiyya order in the centre. The diagram shows that the religio-reform movements that were highly syncretic [like the Bhakti and the Sikh movements], have been put on the extreme left end of the continuum scale, where as we have placed the religio-reform movements that assumed conspicuous

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[23] Parm Gill, "Religious Harmony in Punjab" *Humanities* 130, (August, 2011): 3.

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movement] on the extreme right side of the continuum scale. One can locate the sufi orders like Chistiyya and Qadiriyya between the centre and the left extreme, as they fall into the category of syncreitc movements but they were less syncretic/ plural as compared to *Bhakti* and Sikh movements. The movements like Sikh movement and the Chishtiyya Order have been consigned a place between the centre and the right extreme because there occurred a perceptible shift in the syncretic character of the movements. For instance, the Sikh movement/sect assumed more puritanical streaks since the second half of the Seventeenth century and the Chishtiyya Order came under more puritanical influences particularly since the Chistiyya revival in the Punjab since the 1850's.

While assessing the role of Modernity in the rise of puritanical Islam it would be relevant to make a comparison between the rise of Protestantism in western Europe particularly Britain and the Puritanical Islam in India. The comparison can reveal a number of similarities between the two processes.

The collision of Modernity with Christianity led to the rise of Protestantism. The process manifested itself in a number of developments. Firstly, it gave rise to the conception of religion that emphasized personal responsibility in the affairs of religion. The emerging puritanical movements sought to impart the individual the basic knowledge of religion by making use of antecedents/agencies of Modernity. Secondly, the advent of Print enhanced the importance of scriptural aspects of religion that led to the new interpretation of religion; this development had a profound impact on the conception of religion. Steven Wallech et al., in their work on World History in 2013 provide illustrative examples of this development. They inform us that:

> In his review of Paul of Tarsus's message in the New Testament, Luther stumbled upon the passage called the True Gates of Paradise (Romans 1:17). This passage states, "Man is justified by faith alone". Trained as a lawyer prior to becoming a monk, Luther interpreted the verb *justified* to mean *judged.* He concluded that God judged humanity solely by the sinner's faith in Jesus. Hence faith and faith alone saved the sinner; faith permitted the sinner to utterly surrender to Christ and receive His definite mercy. This mercy cleansed the soul and granted the sinner grace.[24]

[24] Steven Wallech et al., *World History: A Concise Introduction*,Vol.2,(West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell,2013),383.

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Christianity more specifically Catholicism. It is useful to examine the collision of Modernity with Shrine-centered Islam in India as the encounter forced the revival and reform movements to bring fundamental change in their strategy of propagating the religion. The clash between Shrine-centered Islam and Modernity forced a number of Muslim reform and revivalist movements to assume puritanical streaks. One can cite the effects of this development on Waliullahi movement, the emergence of movements like Deoband, *Ahl-i-Hadith*, and Ahmediya as illustrative examples of the process.

It would be useful to add the perspective of Francis Robinson, a perceptive observer of Islam in South Asia. In one of his articles in 2000, he shows that how the intrusion of Modernity led to the change in authoritative interpretation of Islam. While explaining this process he discussed two points: (i) the emergence of revivalist and reform movement, and; (ii) the introduction of Printing in the Nineteenth century.[25] Further illustration of the first factor enables us in certain ways to understand the strategy of reform and revivalist movements as well as its effects on the ethos of Islam. F. Robinson argued that:

> One is the great transformation of Islam over the past two centuries in the context of the decline of Muslim power and western domination. This led to the great movement of revival and reform, which saw a change of emphasis in belief and practice from a primarily other-worldly faith in which the believer might expect saintly intercession for man with God, to one in which such belief in intercession was frowned upon by many, and the burden of following God's way and achieving salvation was made to rest with the conscience of each individual. Man was God's successor on earth. It was his responsibility to create a God fearing society[26].

The excerpt from F.Robinson's explains very eloquently that how the realization of decline of Muslim power forced the leadership of Muslim reform and revivalist movements to change their strategy and how the authority of *pirs*—the custodians of Shrine-centered Islam, came to be challenged and how the reform and revivalist movement began to make individual conscience responsible towards new kind of obligations towards religion?

We observe in India that the puritanical Islamic movements started placing exclusive emphasis on personal responsibility. In addition to it, their focus shifted

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[25] Francis Robinson, "The Ummah in the 21 st Century", *The Herald* (Annual) ,January 2001,106.
[26] Ibid.

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authority of "*pir*" [emphasis added] was seriously challenged. By the same implication, scriptures assumed increasing importance over word of mouth.

If one compares the two processes, that is, the encounter between Modernity with Christianity and the interaction of Modernity with Islam in South Asia we can notice a number of broad similarities like the emergence of the concept/emphasis of personal responsibility and the growing importance of scriptures as the reliable source of authoratitive texts.

By emphasizing similarities I do not suggest that one should be oblivious to the differences. The first obvious difference between the two processes is that both Protestantism and the Muslim reform and revivalist movements that had assumed puritanical streaks laid stress on the responsibility of the individual.[27] But the Protestantism tried to create a sensible balance between individual responsibilities towards religion and the material progress/ well-being. On the other hand, the Muslim reform and revivalist movements gave priority to the issues of life-hereafter. In addition to this, their conception of religious ideology in terms of its role in politics was altogether different.

The comparison between the processes through which the Western nations following the path of secular democracy have developed their conception of ideology and the Muslims have drawn/ derived their Ideology, provides us another plausible explanation of the difference between West and the Muslims. Azhar Hameed, a scholar of Pakistan movement, has explained the difference in one of his articles. He argued that:

> The Western nations following the path of democracy have developed their ideology through the historical experiences of their societies. It was rooted in their shared experience of a tussle between the Church and the State. Their ideology is shaped under the influence of the two concepts – the religious conception that animates the lives of individuals and secularism that serves as the guiding principle of their collective lives. Individual [may] follow religious ethics/morality as a measure or standard to judge good and evil in his personal life. But religious belief does not play any role in their collective lives.[28]

After reflecting on experiences of the West, Azhar Hameed shifts his focus to Islamic ideology. He argues that:

> Muslim get/seek all the guidance and direction in their individual and collective lives from their religion. The conception of religion that Muslims

[27] Robinson construes it as a shift towards "this worldliness".

[28] Azhar Hameed, "Nazirya-e-Pakistan"in *Mutalia Pakistan* [For Degree Classes] (Islamabad: Allama Iqbal Open University, 2005),15-16.

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> Western conception relegates the role of religion to the private faith of an individual. On the other hand, the Muslims embrace the view that Islam not only determines rights and relationship between the individual and God but also among the members of the society. Muslims have not developed their ideology out of their own historical experiences. Rather Quran and *Sunnah* lay down the basic criteria rights and obligation for Muslim.[29]

Up till now, the study has discussed the question of collusion of Modernity with Shrine-centered Islam and its overall impact on the Waliullahi movement. But if one narrows it down to the role of agencies or the antecedents of Modernity it would enable us to see what kind of tools/apparatuses the Modernity had introduced in India that were later deployed by different reform and revival movements. Here the question arises can we compare the rise of puritanical Islam to the emergence of Protestantism if the influence of Modernity is reduced to using its tools such as schools and printing etc? I argue that the larger themes such as the emergence of Protestantism and puritanical streaks of Muslim movements ought naught to be reduced to the antecedents of Modernity, but on the other, hand we cannot gain a richer understanding of the phenomenon without identifying their role. How the reform and revival movements deploy the agencies of Modernity provide insights into the strategy the revival and reform organizations had drawn up or adopted to carry their message.

The Christian missionaries began to advance their agenda by deploying various agencies of Modernity like educational institutions, the print culture as they published polemical essays and religious tract against the other communities. In response to these tactics the revival and reform movements launched by Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs deployed the techniques and agencies of Modernity to counter the propaganda of Christian Missionaries.[30]

The remaining portion of the section gives a brief overview of the challenges that Muslim revival and reform movements had to face in the early nineteenth century when the officials of the East India Company adopted a sort of patronizing attitude towards the proselytizing activities of the Christian missionaries.

These changes may be traced as far back as 1813 when the British Government through Charter Act allowed the Christian Missionaries to spread Christianity in India.[31]

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[29] Ibid.
[30] Section 1.3 of the Chapter 1 discusses the theme with greater details.
[31] Avril Anon Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1993), 80.

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attests the organized nature of these activities.[32] The mission introduced the printing press in cis-Sutlej belt after one or two years of its establishment. It published in local languages as well as in English.[33] The missionaries launched *Ludhiana Akhbar*.[34] After the establishment of headquarter, the missionaries established its branches in the rest of Punjab. Since 1835 several Christian Missions had established in Punjab, which contributed towards the heightening of communal tensions.[35] In 1849 Punjab fell under Britsh occupation, and the British officials began to patronize the Christian missionaries. This attitude pervaded till 1857 and the historians of Mutiny/War of Independence while examining the cause of the outbreak of the revolt also pinpoint the patronizing attitude of the Company/British officials as one of the major reasons behind the resentment of religious communities.[36]

Quite understandably, the Muslim theologians became very conscious about these activities. They tried to counterpoise the Christian missionaries through *Munāzara* tradition as well as by adopting certain antecedents of modernity; such as the use of a loudspeaker, printing presses, publications, translations and interpretations of religious scriptures into the Urdu language etc.[37] That process spans over a period of more than half century, heralded a new era in the South Asian Islam.

Apart from the Christian missionaries the modern education system the Btitish had introduced acted as another agency of Modernity. The British education system seriously challenged the old Islamic *madrasa* System. The Muslim revival and response movements systematically explored the avenues that Modernity had opened up and sought to address the challenges by effective use of the agencies of Modernity. They tried to reform or preserve religious education through the revival of the *madrasa* system. One can observe the emergence of a number of Sunni schools of thought in the era like

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[32] Ian Talbot, *India and Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 61.
[33] Gazetteer of Ludhiana District, 1888-89, 64-65.
[34] Muhammad Atiq Siddiqi, *Hindustani Akhbar*, (Delhi: Anjuman Taraqi-i-Urdu, 1957), 233.
[35] These missions included: The American Presbysterian Mission in Ludhian (1835), Jullundar (1848), Ambala (1848), Roman Catholics Church Mission at Lahore (1846), The Church Missionary Society (Church of England) at Kotgarh 1840, Simla (1840).Table 1.2 of the Chapter 1 provide more details of the Christian missions in the Punjab thatwere established between 1834 and 1889.
[36] Muhammad Azam, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan mein Punjab ka Kirdar,*31.
[37] More than twelve Muslim Scholars attempted to translate the Holy Quran into the Urdu language, Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change, 241

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modernity such as the organization of *madrasas* on the model of Western schools, translation of scriptures into local languages and deployment of printing technology.[39]

The reform movements specifically the *Ahl-i-Hadith* focused using potentialities of Print culture particularly translation and publication of the works of Syed Ahmad Barelvi and Shah Ismail, like *Sirat al-Mustaqim* and *Taqwiyat al-Iman*,[40] These works openly challenged authority and credibility of oral words communicated through *pir*. Thus the sanctity of the Shrine-centered tradition of Islam was severely challenged.[41]

The introduction of the new technology of communication such as print media and translation of the text in vernacular languages expedited the process of socio-religious transition. The Urdu language replaced the Persian as the new religious and cultural language of the Muslims of the subcontinent.

During the entire period, partcularly between 1870's and 1930's the reform and revival movements became very combative and polemical. The doctrinal disputes in Punjab intensified communal tensions. The Muslim revival and reform also began to preceive threats from activites of Arya Samajis[42] and Singh Sabhas. The polemical attacks resulted in growing communal antagonism under British rule. These develpoments led to the increasing incidence of communal riots. For incistance, there occurred 797 communal riots in India. In the next year, 827 cases of rioting were reported.[43]

As explained earlier, the changes that Modernity wrought exacerbated the communal tensions that further provided space for the Muslim movements having puritanical streaks of making/ offering a scriptural interpretation of Islam. All the

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[38] At that time the Ahmadiyya movement also emerged among the Sunni sect. As the Ahmadis were not declared non-Muslims, the engagement of th Ahl-i-Hadith with Ahmadiya Movement will also be discussed.

[39] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reforms Movements in British India* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), 6.

[40] Ibid., 240.

[41] These books challenged the Sufi-centered Islam vigorously and opposed the prevalent customary practices at the shrines of the Sufis.

[42] The first president of Lahore Arya Samaj was Rai Bahadur Mul Raj who had no faith in Hindu Muslim unity. See S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1995), 219.

[43] Punjab Administration Report, 1928-29, 29.

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the propagation of the Islam based on literal interpretation of the *Quran* and *Hadith* as the focal point of its agenda. For that purpose, it effectively deployed the agencies of Modernity. By emphasizing this aspect I do not suggest that this contestation led the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement, to re-concile with Modernity, instead, it made use of/deployed the agencies of Modernity to effectively preach the *Ahl-i-Hadith* doctrines.[44]

0.3 The *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement and its Puritanical Streaks

The previous section showed that how the reform and revival movements of Muslim deployed the agencies of Modernity to disseminate the religious message and how this entire process sharpened the focus of their puritanical teachings or puritanical edges [figuratively]. The section presents a brief overview of the teachings of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. I argue in the section that the puritanical streaks of the teachings of the movement were emblematic of the puritanical shifts in the process of revival and reform. This shift had become more conspicuous as a result of the collision of revivalist movements with Modernity during the colonial rule. The concluding paragraph of the section answers the question of whether the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement was really trying to target the supposed *sufi* character of society in colonial Punjab? or should this impact be construed as impact by consequence rather than default?

The enquiry broadly categorizes the teachings of the movement into two sets. The issues related to *ibadat* (worship);(ii) *khanagi moamalat*(the domestic affairs)and women related issues, and;(iii) *furui moamalat* (the affairs relating to ramifications of less impotrant issues), can be included in the first category.[45] The second category

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[44] The Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement tried their best to adopt only those features of the Colonial modernity which helped them in the dissemination of their ideas far and wide of the country.

[45] The Ahl-i-Hadith devised a particular way of offering prayer. During prayers, they clasped or fastened their hands on their chest. And the repetition of *Surah-i-Fatiha* along with Imam was considered obligatory for the *namazis*. The other distinguishing features of Ahl-i-Hadith's way of offering prayers included: the practice of calling *Ameen bil jahr* (calling the word *ameen* loudly in prayers); *Rafah yadain* (raising hands to ears while going to *Rukuh*);the recitation of *Bismillah* in the start of any *Surah*,and; raising the index finger while reciting the *kalama shahadat* in *tashahd*. Muhammad Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-I-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 4 Vols. (Delhi: Maktaba Tarjaman, 2008), 1:182.*Ahl-i-Hadith* declared the Friday congregation as compulsory in cities as well as in big and small villages. On this point, they differed with the Hanafis. According to *fiqh-i Hanafi,* the prayer can only be offerd only in large towns and cities having favorable trading conditions and market places, Ibid. The family laws and the women-related issues also drew the attention of the Ahl-i-Hadith movement. Their position on *Talaq-i-Salasa* (The Triple *Talaq*/ giving divorce three times in one session) was different from the other sects. They advised the Muslims to follow the specific instructions of the Prophet of Islam. They interpreted the Triple *Talaq* in trems of *talaq-i-raji* (one divorce). The Ahl-i-

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of *Ahl-i-Hadith* on scriptualist Islam, and;(iii) *Ahl-i-Hadith* perspectives on the Shrine-centered Islam. One can analogyze the second category as the microcosm to develop a clear idea about the puritanical streaks of the movement. Hence it becomes more relevant for our discussion.

The *Ahl-i-Hadith* vehemently opposed the prevailing four schools of Islamic Jurisprudence. Therefore, came to be known as *Ghair-i-Muqallid* (rejecters of *taqlid*). They emerged as vocal critics of blind following.[46] They asked their followers not to follow any specific school of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Thus the non-conformist thrust can be identified as a distinguishing characteristic of the movement.

The movement's specific emphasis on scriptural[47] Islam was one of the hall-marks of its teachings. It asked its followers to have the direct recourse of the Holy Quran and the *Hadith*. The movement advised its disciples/acolytes to follow only the teachings and injunctions of religion that are endorsed by Quran and *Hadith*. The writings of Ibn Taimiyyah, Ibn Qayyim(1292-1350) and Jalal-ud-din Suyuti(1445-1505) provided the key texts that the scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith* recommended to the followers of the movement to reinforce the latter 's beliefs in scriptural Islam.[48]

The movement launched a sustained assault on Shrine-centered Islam. It tried to restore Islam in its orininal form, by attempting to purge Islam of what the leaders of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement described as " un-Islamic accretions". The movement held the belief that all the Prophets including Muhammad (SAW) and saints had passed away and they could not listen like those who are alive. The movement forbade the

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Hadith position of the issue of women whose husband had disappeared or no one knew their whereabouts, was markedly different from the *Hannfis*. For instance, the latter opined that they would have to wait for ninety years, where as the Ahl-i-Hadith ulamā allowed such women to get married after waiting for four years.

[46] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 141. Also see Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulamā in Contemporary Islam: Custodian of Change* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), 24. Also see Sana Ullah Amritsari, *Ahl-i-Hadith ka Mazhab* (Chechawatni, Pakistan: Maktaba Muhammadiyya, 2006), 58.
[47] This term scriptural Muslim is used by Clifford Geertz for those Muslims who left the customary practices in favour of fixed life in accordance with Quran and Hadith.
[48] Abdul Hakim I.Al-Matroudi, *The Hanbali School of Law and Ibin Taymiyyah:conflict or conciliation*,(London: Routledge,2006),13—30., Johannes J.G.Jansen, "Ibn Taymiyyah and the Thitreenth Century: A Formative Period of Modern Muslim Radicalism", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi*, vol.5/6, 1987.; Boirgit Krawietz, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah: His Life and Works", Mamluk Studies Review, vol.10,no.2, 2006,19--64., and ;Abu Hasan, *Imam Jalal ud din Suyuti: Biography and Works*(np:nd),1—14.

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questioned deeply-held and long-standing Sunni (Barelvi) belief of considering the Prophet Muhammad as *Nur* of God (light of God).[50]

Ahl-i-Hadith considered that only the God possessed the *Īlm-i-ghaib* (the knowledge of incidents before happenings /knowledge of unseen things). It challenged the popular notion, which *Ahl-i-Sunnat* (*Barelvi* School of Thought) had reinforced that Prophets and saints also had *Īlm-i-ghaib*.

The puritanical upbringing of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement led them to launch a hostile attack on all those customs that were widely practiced by common Muslims. Such as *milad sharif*, *fatiha*[51], *simah-i-maota*.[52] It voiced serious objections against the observance of various ceremonies to commorate someone's death, like *Qul sharif* (ceremony on the third day of the dead), *Satavan* (seventh day ceremony after death) and *Chaliswan* (ceremony on a fortieth day after death).

The popular practices associated with the Shrine-centered Islam came under the severe censure of the protagonists of the movement like visitation/pilgrimage to the graves of the Prophets and saints, and all rituals associated with or that sanctified the role of any intermediary or holy men between God and men. In other words, all the movement made all the notion of saintly intercession specific target of criticism.[53] *Ahl-i-Hadith* denounced all the rituals practices observed in *Muharram*, '*urs*, and *gyarahwin* of Abdul Qadir Jillani. *Ahl-i-Hadith* termed the traditional Muslims as innovators (*bid`ati*).[54]

The protagonists of the movement equated the practices of reverence to the sants as " polytheistic" and emphatically asserted that such kind of deep reverence could only be shown to God.[55] The movement laid stress on this worldly

[49] *Ahl-i-Hadith* Amritsar, 8 November 1935. Also see Sana Ullah, *Ahl-i-Hadith ka Mazhab*, 30-31.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Recitation of Surah Fatiha for the dead.
[52] Listening of the dead body.
[53] Aziz Ahmed, *Studies in Islamic Culture*, 212.
[54] Muhammad Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-I-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 4 Vols. (Delhi: Maktaba Tarjaman, 2008), 4:38-56.
[55] Mahnaz Afkhami (ed), *Faith and Freedom: Woman's Human Rights in the Muslims World* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1995), 138.

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contemplation) of the Sufis.[56]

The brief overview of the teachings of the movement shows a clear puritanical streak. Here the question arises whether the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement was really trying to target the supposed sufi character of society in colonial Punjab? or should this impact be construed as impact by consequence rather than default? Had set up the target of challenging or eroding the supposed *sufi* character of society in Punjab?

Let the question whether the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement before addressing the questions the afore-mentioned questions one needs to be aware of the pitfalls what I describe as the reified understanding of the *Sufi* character of the society of the Punjab that presupposes homogenous syncretic character of Punjab. As explained earlier the enquiry does not consider the phenomenon of development of syncretic ethos as homogenous.

I would address the second part of the question first and then revert back to answer the first. I argue that the challenge that the Ahi-i-Hadith movement presented to the *sufi* ethos of the society in the Punjab was not by default. However, to some extent, the overall consequence/cumulative impact of the reformist thrust of the other religio-reform movements having puritanical streaks also vigorously challenged the syncretic ethos of the province by causing incredulity and doubts about the authority of pirs. Besides, this, I would emphasize the fact that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement had worked out a deliberate and coherent strategy to target the *sufi* character of the Muslim society of the Punjab.[57] The puritanical streaks of the teachings of the movement, the curriculum offered or taught in the *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s, and the puritanical up-bringing of its preachers further attest to the fact. Moreover, the reaction of the exponents and followers of Shrine-centered Islam against the *Ahl-i-Hadith ulama* and preachers shows that how they had become increasingly frustrated by the reformist approach of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement.

As explained earlier in the thesis statement that the enquiry, while highlighting the puritanical streaks of the teachings, does not intend to predetermine the assumptions about the radical and militant character of the movement. As I argue in

[56] Ibid.
[57] To potray this character the study uses the word the Shrine-centered Islam.

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political group or stance.

0.4 Review of Literature

The study has identified/ selected a number of key words by examining dominant streams of scholarship on the subject and the thesis areas of the work. This section is clustered around the key words "Modernity in India", "Shrine-centred Islam/Sufism", "The Polemical Writings", and the "The Revival and Reform Movements".

Modernity in India

As the previous discussion in sections 0.2 and 0.3 showed that how and what ways the intrusion of Modenity in India played key role in sharpening the puritanical vision of revival and reform movement in India, as it provided the tools like introduction of modern system of education, new techniques of propagation of religion, and the agency of Print Capitalism. Ahmad Dallal's work engages the writings of four contemporary Muslim scholars who studied the movements that were profoundly influenced by western influence.[58] Most Studies of modern Islamic thought assert that the roots of modern Islamic revival originate in the eighteenth century. It is argued that the Muslim movements of the nineteenth century had intellectual links with Arabian Wahabism.[59] My study draws on the influences of modernity on revivalist and reform movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith* as well as its linkages with the Arabian Wahabi movement. My study stands close to Rudolph Peters who saw the rise of reformist movements of the nineteenth century as a response to the increasing Western impact in the Islamic world.[60]

The colonial rule introduced modern education and press which influenced the colonial subjects in many ways. Many scholars like Veena Naregal and Ruth Soule Arnon argues that colonial education represented nothing less than a desire to

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[58] Ahmad Dallal has compares and examines four major intellectual trends of Islamic thought in the period of mid-eighteenth to mid nineteenth century. His paper characterizes the works of Arabian Wahabi Movement of Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahab (1703-1792), Indian Shah Waliullah's Movement (1703-1762), West African Usman bin Fudi (1754-1817) and North African Muhammad al-Sanusi (1787-1859). Ahmad Dallal, "The Origin and Objectives of Islamic Revivalist Thought, 1750-1850" *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 113, 3, (Jul.–Sep., 1993).

[59] Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977). For the similar ideas of the spread of Wahabi ideology in the Muslim world See. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1947).

[60] Rudolph Peters, "Ijtihad and Taqlid in 18th and 19th Century Islam" *Die Wrelt des Islams,* 20, 3-4, (1980).

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discursive and institutional shifts that would alter the norms and modes of cultural and political contestation. As a result of this education, many reform and revivalist movements emerged in colonial India.[61]

With the advent of modernity in India, the indigenous people responded to it differently. Aziz Ahmad's *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan* is a valuable work on the influences of modernity on the different social and religious aspect of Indian Muslims. He gave details about the encounter of modernity and Islamic traditionalism. As a result of this collision of Islam with modernity, their ushered reformist movements like Deoband and *Ahl-i-Hadith* that claimed to be a revivalist movement. Aziz Ahmad's book deals with the analysis of almost every sphere of the lives of the Muslims of India; religious or political. He critically evaluated the themes with every major movement and its leaders as well. For him, *Ahl-i-Hadith* was a neo-traditional movement which focused on the two (Quran and Hadith) out of four sources of Islamic scholarship. It discarded Ijma[62] and Qiyas[63] to some extent. He delineates the role of Sayed Ahmad Khan and his Aligarh Movement in the creation of Islamic Modernism. He looks towards to Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) as a speculative neo-modernist.[64]

Ahsan Jan Qaisar looks the early responses of Indian to European technology and Culture. But my study deals with the influences of Modernity especially on socio-religious aspects of the Indian religion. What they responded was the rise of the reformist movement among the Hindus and the Muslims.[65]

During the second half of the nineteenth century print along with other fast communication sources enabled the growth of the Indian press. Colonial India witnessed a revolution in the availability of press culture. Print remained the main tool used by the reform movement for the dissemination of their specific doctrine among the larger segment of the population. In his article titled "Technology and Religious Change: Islam

[61] Veena Naregal, *Language, Politics, Elites and Public Sphere: Western India under Colonialism* (London: Anthem Press, 2001).
[62] Conformity on any religious disputation is called *Ijma.*
[63] Personal opinion of the Mujtahid (religious scholar).
[64] Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).
[65] Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European technology and Culture* 1498-1707 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982). F. Rahman, "Muslim Modernism in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 21, 1/3, (1958).

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modern religious movements to reach that audience that was at a distance. Muhammad Qasim Zaman in his article "Commentaries, Print and Patronage: Hadith and the *Madrasa*s in Modern South Asia" argue that how print technology altered the socio-religious life of the Muslims. He contests that there are two opinions about the change of authority in the religious affairs of the Muslims. One notion is that with the inauguration of a new era of print capital and translations of the religious scripts into local languages had minimized the authority of Ulamā. But at the same time print also enhanced the power of Ulamā because now they are the interpreters of the scripts.[66]

The Ulamā in Contemporaray Islam: Custodian of Change of Muhammad Qasim Zaman has associated with the changes occurred among the Muslim scholars through the prism of modernity. It mainly seeks the Ulamā of the British India and Pakistan but not so much deep about the political, religious and social role of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement. It tried to destroy the notion that the Ulamā were static and traditional.[67]

Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan written by Jamal Malik articulated the structure of Islamic institutions under the influences of colonialism. He also argues that "it is plausible that Muslim intellectuals picked up their backwardness, accepted it as a fact and finally attempted to stop the supposed decay of Islam by adopting western values and forms.[68]

David Lelyveld in his book *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* considers Sir Sayed's impact on Indian Muslims. He credited Sir Sayed declaring him a man who led his people against political, intellectual and spiritual challenges of the West.[69] Troll exemplifies Sir Sayed as the man who absorbed the religious challenges of the Western science and the political challenges of the British rule.[70]

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[66] Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the impact of Print," Modern Asian Studies, 27, 1, (February, 1993). Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Commentaries, Print and Patronage: Hadith and the Madrasas in Modern South Asia," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 62, 1, (1999). Chapter three of Ian Talbot, *India and Pakistan* (London: Arnold, 2000).

[67] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodian of Change* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002)

[68] Jamal Malik, *Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1996).

[69] David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

[70] Christian W. Troll, *Sayed Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978)

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proclaimed the Hindu Nationalism an outcome of modernity. He detected the influences of modernity on the religious life of Hinduism in detail.[71]

Shrine-centred Islam/Sufism

There are extensive corpora of literature on Shrine-centred Islam, which makes it directly for the present enquiry on the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement that consciously chose to reform the Shrine-centred Islam. There are two different approaches to Islam; the Salafi way and the Sufi way. The Salafi (in India they called themselves *Ahl-i-Hadith*) wanted to take Islam back to the early period of the Salaf. They disseminated the literal interpretation of the Holy Quran and Tradition of the Prophet, thinking that the doors of new *Ijtihad* were closed. In addition to this, they rejected all *ijma* except the companions of the Prophet.[72] The Sufis claimed to have a more spiritual approach to religion. For them, the daily prayers have value in such a way when the communion with God is perceived. Their idea was to turn themselves away from everything but Allah. I, in the present study, will show that how the Sufis having a strong hold in India and especially in Punjab gave way to the rise of the puritanical movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.

The role of Sufis in politics and socio-religious life has been prompted by several scholars of South Asian Studies. The works of Ernest Gellner on the Muslim society and on the pirs of the India and Pakistan by Metcalf, Akbar Ahmad, Ewing, Talbot, Gilmartin and Eaton are mush considerations.[73]

Barbara D. Metcalf in her book *Islam in South Asia: In Practice* particularizes the role of Sufism in India. She narrates that in Islamic practices Sufism has its roots

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[71] David Smith, *Hinduism and Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003).
[72] Edward Sell, *Faith of Islam* (Madras: Addison & Co., 1880). Tahir Kamran, "Salafi Extremism in the Punjab & Its Trans-National Impact"
[73] Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society* (Cambridge: Camgridge University Press, 1981). Akbar Ahmad, *Religion and Politics in Muslim Society* (Cambridge: Camgridge University Press, 1983). Katherine Ewing, "The politics of Sufism: Redefining the saints of Pakistan," *The Journal of Asian Studies,*42, 2, (February, 1983). Ian Talbot, "The 1946 Punjab Elections," *Modern Asian Studies*, 14,1, (1980). David Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab" *Modern Asian Studies*,13 ,3 (1979).
Richard M. Eaton, " Court of Man, Court of God: Local Perception of the Shrine of Baba Farid, Pakpattan, Punjab" *Contributions to Asian Studies* 16*,* (1982). Babara D. Metcalf, "Islam and Custom in Nineteenth Century India: The Reformist Standard of Maulana Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar" *Contribution to Asian Studies,* 17, (1982). S. A. A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* 2 Vols. (Lahore: Suhail Academy1983).

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Qawwāli songs that were in common practice.[74]

Essays on Islam and Indian History by Richard M. Eaton enriches with the Indian Sufi tradition. It sketches that how this Indo-Islamic cultural florescence occurred in the Indian subcontinent and especially in Punjab. Eaton recounts the influence of the shrine of Farid-ud-Din Ganj Shakar in Pakpatan and its offshoots scattered in the far and wide of the country. He has argued that this shrine integrated the local cultural system with its immeasurable manifestation. He also characterizes the rituals and symbols used by the adherents of the shrine.[75]

Annemarie Schimmel (1922-2003), a German Orientalist in her *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* paints about the spiritual life of the Indian Muslims right from the advent of Islam to modern India. Her approaches to Indian Sufism show her deep insight into the topic. Many other scholars have spoken about the role of Sufism in the Indian subcontinent.[76]

David Gilmartin in his book *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* noted the relationship between the *Sajjadanashin* (Sufis) of the Punjab and the colonial state. He, in addition to this, elaborates the role of religion in shaping many aspects of the Punjabi political life. Chapter two of his book draws very close to my argument that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* reformers were more categorical in rejecting Sufism. His article "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab" also presents the role of the Sufis of central Punjab in the creation of Pakistan. [77]

D. N. Jha focuses on the history of Punjab and concluded that the land of Punjab was rich in promoting religious uniformity and communal harmony. On the other hand, Aziz Ahmad in his book Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment proposed

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[74] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islam in South Asia: In Practice* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000)

[75] Richard M. Eaton, *Essays on Islam and Indian History* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[76] Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003). A survey of the cultural life depicts several mystical trends. See Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *The Muslim Community in Indo-Pak Subcontinent* (1962). Muhammad Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims* (Montreal: 1969).Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India* (Edinburg: 1969). Annemarie Schimmel, "The Influence of Sufism on Indo-Muslim Poetry," in Joseph P. Strelka, *Anagogic Qualities of Literature* (1971).

[77] David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: I. B. Tauris$ Co Ltd, 1988). David Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab" *Modern Asian Studies*,13 ,3 (1979).

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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Movement and the Muslim Sufism. Sarah Ansari in her famous book *Sufi Saints and State Power* had drawn certain distinctions between the pirs and religious Ulamā. According to her the Sufis in the subcontinent were regarded as the mediator between God and man. Furthermore, the shrine was a center of religious activities. She, further, situated that these Sufis laid emphasis on the spiritual growth rather on the letter of God's law, whereas the Ulamā were reflected upon as the custodians of *Shariah*, officially appointed as qazi and mufti in the courts; paid grants and scholarships from the rulers. Nile Green's *Indian Sufism Since the Seventeenth Century* is relevant with the Sufism in Deccan (especially Aurangabad).[78]

Yoginder Sikand has observed the challenges of scriptural Islam to popular Sufism in Kashmir. He portrays the influences of modern education on the Sufism of Kashmir Valley from 1900 to 1989. He narrates that the newly educated people who studied under the colonial educational system, re-questioned the traditional values of Sufism.[79]

Mubarak Ali's *The Ulamā, Sufis, and Intellectuals* have shown a certain relation with the religious conditions in a colonial milieu in India. He asserts that the responses from the Ulamā to colonialism were of several dimensions. These included the rejection of composite culture, to purify Islam from the outsider elements and a severe blow to the local customs. Furthermore, the study shed ample light on the *munāzara* system of Ulamā adopted after the Christian missionaries, *Jihad* Movement of Sayed Ahmad Shaheed and *fatawā* system.[80]

Mansura Haidar edited *Sufi, Sultan and Feudal Orders* in which several articles on dispersed areas were included. It contains an article on the arrival of early Sufis in India. It covered the anecdotes of the Sufis from the ninth century to the turn of the sixteenth century. Maksud Ahmad Khan's article "Khānaqāh: Center of

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[78] D. N. Jha is a Professor of History in Delhi University, Delhi.
D. N. Jha, "Against Communalizing History," *Social Scientist*, 26, 9/10, (Sep. –Oct., 1998). Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1964). Sarah F. D. Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind*, 1843-1947 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Nile Green, *Indian Sufism Since the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2006).). Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

[79] Yoginder Sikand, "Popular Kashmiri Sufism and the Challenge of Scripturalist Islam (1900-1989)" in Aparna Rao (ed.), *The Valley of Kashmir: The Making and Unmaking of a Composite Culture?* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distridutors, 2008), 491.
[80] Mubarak Ali, *The Ulama, Sufis and Intellectuals* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996).

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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kind of education was imparted at these *Khānaqāhs*, how to treat with the visitors, books generally taught at these *Khānaqāhs* and *Khānaqāhs* as centers for spiritual training and character building.[81]

Tanvir Anjum delves deeply to explore the dynamics of the relationship of Chishti Silsila and the Sultanate of Delhi during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. She tries to investigate the roles of Chishti Sufis and the Sultan of Delhi in their individual as well as institutional contexts.[82]

Chapter seven of the *The Essence of Sufism* addresses a number of issues pertaining to Sufi Islam. It deals with the writings of certain Sufis as Farid-ud-Din Attar, Ibn Arabi and that of Rumi. Its chapter four delineates the influences of Muslim Sufism on the West since the beginning of the eighth century.[83]

The Polemical Writings

Any study on the subject of reform and revivalism in India, particularly colonial Punjab cannot do away with/ignore the polemical writings on the subject. They provide vantage not only to examine the phenomenon at length but also enhance the understanding of the readers about the tools and techniques the revivalist movements deployed spread their ideologies. This study covers the polemical debates of *Ahl-i-Hadith* with non-Muslims i.e. Arya Samajis and Christian Missionaries and with other Muslim sects. The new style of *munāzara* was introduced by Christian missionaries. The survey of the works available under the key word 'Polemical discourse' is discussed below.

William Montgomery Watt gives a sketch of the Muslim-Christian encounters. He assesses that the Christianity of the modern period is much different from the Christianity of the past. He has given a full account of Muslim-Christian debates occurred in the different eras.[84]

Muslims and Missionaries in pre-Mutiny India by Avril Anon Powell deals with the new style of street *munāzara* between the Muslim theologians and the

[81] Mansura Haider, (ed.), *Sufi, Sultans and Feudal Orders* (New Delhi: Manohar Publicationers, 2004).
[82] Tanvir Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi* 1190-1400, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[83] John Baldock, *The Essence of Sufism* (London: Arcturus Publishing Limited, 2004).
[84] William Montgomery Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters* (London: Routledge, 1991).

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work shows that how the religious debate was transformed from the *darbar* (royal court) to the streets. It further sketches that how the situation was worsened by the advent of the Christian missionaries in the North India region.[85]

C. A. Bayly in his book *Origin of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India* have burnt the midnight oil to present the pre-history of religious communalism in India. He gives a picture of eighteenth-century religious syncretism in Indian societies.[86]

Kenneth W. Jones in his research article "Communalism in Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution" renders the religious animosity in Colonial Punjab with regard to the inauguration of Arya Samaj and its bitter opposition from the Ahmadiyya Movement. He assets that communalism was not new but remained part of the traditional South Asian civilization. It was modified during the nineteenth century by the dual influences of modernization and Westernization. The self-conscious aspect of communalism was intensified by new modes of communication.[87] On the other hand, Christian missions were set up almost all the cities of Punjab. This produced religious antagonism. John Webster has briefly denoted the onslaught of the Christian missionaries in Punjab.[88] Punjab, as a Muslim majority province, transformed the Muslim identity into communal consciousness. The colonial economy sharpened the antagonism between the social classes of the Muslims and non-Muslims. The land of Punjab attracted the adherents of the other movements both Muslims and Hindus founded outside the territory of Punjab.[89]As a response to the outsider movements in Punjab, the Ahmadiyya movement also emerged from the land of Punjab (Ludhiana). It was a reactionary movement against the activities of Christian missionaries and Arya Samajis and hence adopted the polemical natures in the very beginning of it. Mush has been written on the origin, nature, and development of the movement.[90] The

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[85] Avril Anon Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1993).
[86] C. A. Bayly, *Origin of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[87] Kenneth W. Jones, "Communalism in the Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution," *The Journal of Asian Studies,* 28, (November 1968). Rowena Robinson, *Christian of India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003).
[88] John Webster, "Punjabi Christians" *JPS,* 16, 1.
[89] Haider Ali Agha, "Political Economy of Identity Formation, 1890-1910: Class and Community in Colonial Punjab" *Pakistan Vision*, 17, 2, (2016).
[90] H. A. Walter, *The Religious Life of India: The Ahmadiyya Movement* (Calcutta: Association Press, 1918). Walter produced an unbiased, accurate and unprejudiced volume to Ahmadiyya Movement. He pinpointed that the founder of the movement claimed to be as the prophet of revival of genuine religion, he claimed to be the Messsiah of the Jews, expected Madhi of the Islam as well as the embodiment of the spirit of Jesus

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Werbner argued, were the colonial conquest and its encounter with Western modernity, especially the spread of mass education and print capital.[91]

Dietrich Reetz in *Islam in the Public Sphere* explores the contestation of the public sphere of the different reformist groups of the Indian Muslims. This evoked religious awareness which ultimately led to the political understanding.[92]

A cursory look at the literature available on this topic suggests that there exists a considerable literature gap. There is no single work available on this topic which has traced the impact of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* reform Movement on Muslim Punjab in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. Therefore, this study can be described as a valuable addition to the existing literature on this subject.

Whatever works available on *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement that qualifies the criteria of a reasonable academic enquiry were mainly relevant to the origin of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in United Provinces. The Movement that got popularity in Punjab (still is in progress in Punjab) was not given proper place in the western academic circles. The literature available in Urdu was mainly either hagiographic or was written by the opponents of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. Both versions of writings delude the readers. The present study sheds ample light on the origin and development of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Colonial Punjab. It also embarks on details the polemical behavior of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement, its role in the Pan-Islamic movements and strife with Sufism. It addresses the disputation of the Movement with the Shrine-Centered Islam. As a result of this religious conflict, the authority of the Sufi was shaken severely. It provides a more detailed and thorough history of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement.

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and the incarnation of Krishna. Lavan Spencer, *The Ahmadiyya Movement: A History and Perspective* (Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1974). Zafarullah Khan, *Ahmadiyyat: The Renaissance of Islam* (London: Tabshir Publications, 1978). James Thayer Addison, "Ahmadiyya Movement and its Western Propaganda" *Harvard Theological Review,* 22, 1 (January, 1929).

[91] Pnina Werbner, "The Making of Muslim Dissent: Hybridized Discourses, Lay Preachers and Radical Rhetoric among British Pakistanis," *American Ethnologist*, 23, 1, (Feb., 1996)

[92] Dietrich Reetz, *Islam in the Public Sphere: Religious Groups in India,* 1900-1947, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).

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The streams of scholarship on revival and reform in colonial India particularly colonial Punjab constitute the focal point of the present enquiry. The scholars have viewed the phenomenon from different perspectives. There had already been a number of previous studies dealing with the various aspects of the revivalist and reform movements of colonial India. Here is a brief survey of these works.

J. N. Farquhar's work on *Modern Religious Movements in India* provides penetrating insights into the rise of religious reform movements particularly the rise of the *Ahmadiyya* Movement in Punjab. He maintains that the rise of the Ahmadiyya Movement was large as a reaction to the success of a Christian mission in Central Punjab and the onslaught of Arya Samaj. Moreover, he mentions the Deoband seminary and its role in the preservation of Muslim Scholarship.[93] This book does not contain any information about the rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab nor about its origin from Delhi.

Wilfred Cantwell Smith's *Modern Islam in India* was published from Lahore in 1943. It was a pioneer work on Indian Islam, which covers a variety of movements of the period. Wilfred Smith looked upon the new Movements of ideas as well as reactionary movements in favour of local culture. He further delineated the rise of Ahmadiyya Movement (late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) and that of Kashmir movement (1930s).[94]

The rise of Muslim religious and political awakening was the result of the Muslim consciousness that was invoked by the loss of the Muslim state in India. With the loss of Mughal power in India, led to the proliferation of a variety of revival and reform movement. Annemarie Schimmel, Peter Hardy, Aziz Ahmad, and Francis Robinson have looked at the reformism in the light of disintegration of the Muslim power in the subcontinent and its collision with modernity.[95] Ayesha Jalal also deals

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[93]J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1915).
[94] Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (Lahore: 1943).
[95] Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980). Chapter five of her Study focused on the issue under discussion. Peter Hardy, *The Muslim of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). Chapter two of his study dealt with the theme. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964). Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslim: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974). Francis Robinson, "Islamic Reform and Modernity in South Asia"*Modern Asian Studies,* 2008.

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Hafeez Malik endeavors to focus on the Muslim Nationalism in terms of social, political, religious and economic factors. He also considers Urdu as a language which also played its role in sharpening the religious boundaries among the two nations.[97]

For a more detailed analysis of Deoband Movement, the work of Barbara Daly Metcalf is central to my thesis. She provides a detailed picture of the attitudes and activities of the most influential reformist Ulamā of Deoband to other sects of the Muslims. She provides a full sketch of the religious seminary of Deoband, its financing, its administration, and functioning. She also discusses the social milieu in which Deoband emerged in India in the second half of the nineteenth century. She also delineates it as a seminary for the preservation of Muslim civilization in India. The above study depicts the modern system of administration introduced by the adherents of Deoband. Chapter seven of her study shows the rise of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Barelvi in UP. It does not deal at length with the rise of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab.[98] But my study focuses on the rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab. Muhammad Qasim Zaman in his article entitled "Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The *Madrasa* in British India and Pakistan" refers to the *madrasa* reforms in British India. It is largely pertinent to the role of Deoband and Nadva and not in connection with the *madrasa* established by the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in North India and Punjab.[99]

The Ulamā of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia by Francis Robinson offers an overview of the traditional Sunni Ulamā of Farangi Mahall in Lucknow who were busy in the preserving of the religious scholarship. It finds the relationship between the scholars and the rulers as well. This study delineates the religious contributions of the Ulamā of *Farangi Mahal* in the twentieth century India. At that time the attitudes of the Ulamā of Farangi Mahall was changed in the responses of the West.[100]

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[96] Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereinty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam Since 1850* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications , 2001).
[97] Hafeez Malik, *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1963).
[98] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982).
[99] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, “Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41, 2, (April 1999).
[100] Francis Robinson ,*The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2001)

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revivalist reactions to the British rule in India during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. He traces the linkages of the revivalist movements with Shah Waliullah. He also analyzed the changing attitudes of the Muslims towards the Hindus.[101]

Claudia Preckel in her dissertation "Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan" has shown the influence of Siddiq Hasan Khan on religious reformism in India. She proclaimed that Siddiq Hasan himself denied the impact of Arabian Wahabism on Indian reformist movements. At the same time, he was influenced by Yemeni Hadith scholars. On the other hand, he accused of the Arabian Wahabi fanaticism and bloodshed among fellow Muslims.[102] S. M. A. Sayeed chalked out the modern radical Islamic fundamentalism in the Arabian Peninsula and India as well.[103]

S Akbar Zaidi's Ph. D thesis "Contested Identities and the Muslim Qaum in Northern India 1860-1900" deals with the dilemma of the Muslim nation as a whole in a changing environment. He focuses on the different trends that were developing among the Muslims of North India. He also delves deeply into the usage of Print capital by the different sects of the Muslim. My study is separate from Zaidi as it deals with exclusively on the rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab during the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.[104]

Martin Riexinger in his article "How Favourable is Puritan Islam to Modernity" shares about the influences of modernity on religious reform movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. His article largely treats *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab. He traces its links with the movements of Shah Waliullah and Sayed Ahmad Barelvi. He also delineates with the social basis of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab.[105]

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[101] Peter Hardy, *The Muslim of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
[102] Claudia Preckel, "Siddiq Hasan Khan and die Enstechung der Ahle hadith Bewegung in Bhopal, Ph. D diss. Ruhr-University Bochum, 2005.
[103] S. M. A. Sayeed, *The Myth of Authenticity* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1995).
[104] S Akbar Zaidi, "Contested Identities and the Muslim Qaum in Northern India 1860-1900" (PhD diss., Cambridge University). S Akbar Zaidi is a political and economic analyst primarily belong to Karachi. He has done his Mphil and PH. D from Cambridge University.
[105] Martin Riexinger, "How Favourable is Puritan Islam to Modernity? A Study of Ahl-i- Hadis in Late Nineteenth/Earl Twentieth Century South Asia" in Gwilym Beckerlegge (ed.), *Colonialism, Modernity and Religious Identities: Religious Reform Movements in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008).

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social, religious and cultural changes in British India. He puts forward that the age of British dominance in India was an age of redefining the religions of the Indian people. This study employs the special term 'colonial milieu' which produced several types of socio-religious movements in this era. And hence it also traces the foundation of *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyya* and *Ahl-i-Hadith* as its offshoot in UP. Eventually, this study examines the process of transformation of the ideas of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect from Northern India to Punjab. But it sheds ample light on the creation and the role of Deoband School.[106]

Usha Sanyal presents a picture of the Barelvis Movement in her *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelvi and His Movement 1870-1920*. She asserts that the adherents of the movement claimed to be the true Sunni Muslims. She also sees this movement with a spirit of reform in Sufism because the adherents of this movement trace Quranic and Hadith references for the proofs of their claims. The chapter eight of her study "The Ahl-i-Sunnat on Deobandis and Wahabis" deals with the doctrinal contestation with Deoband and *Ahl-i-Hadith*.[107]

Origin of Tablighi Jamaat 1920-2000 by Yoginder Sikand depicts the structure and formation of a Deobandi offshoot *Tablighi Jamaat*. He fosters the role; they played in bringing the Muslim masses into their own fold. He resonates that this movement drew the Muslims populace towards the individual responsibility of every Muslim before God.[108] *The Faith Movement of Muhammad Illyas* by Anwarul Haq is also about the growth of *Tablighi Jama'at*.[109]

Ali Usman Qasmi's work *Questioning the Authority of the Past: The Ahl-i-Quran Movements in the Punjab* articulates the history and beliefs system of Ahl-i-Quran movement in the Punjab. The Movement was in response to the western thrust of attacks on Islam and the legitimacy of the 'Hadith Literature'. It sparks out of the colonial milieu and claimed the originality of the only Quran. It was in opposition to

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[106] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reforms Movements in British India* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994).

[107] Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelvi and His Movement 1870-1920* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[108] Yoginder Sikand, *The Origin and Development of the Tablighi Jama'at* 1920-2000 (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2002).

[109] M. Anwarul Haq, *The Faith Movement of Maulana Muhammad Ilyas* (Austria: Allen&Unwin, 1972).

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and the Hadith.[110]

Islamic Fundamentalism in India written by M. S. Agwani traces the history of orthodox Islam in India. He has not mentioned the traditionalist *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in the Indian subcontinent and hence in the Punjab. His study focuses largely on the topic that how these fundamental movements interact with the parallel movements of other parts of the Muslim world. The focus of the study is Northern Indian Movements of modern India.[111]

The Wahabi *Movement in India* has been written by Qeyumuddin Ahmad, belongs to the full account of the movement of Sayed Ahmad Shaheed. He describes the genesis of the Movement, its doctrine and organization. This is well written study for those who seek the understanding of reforms movements of India. The writer is seemed to be unhappy with the appellation of 'Wahabi' by Hunter. It contains neither any material on the commencement of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in India nor in the Punjab.[112] *The Indian Muslim* by Muhammad Mujeeb has a relation with the changing attitudes of the Muslim rulers and scholars during the decline of the Mughal Empire in India. The study seeks the transition in the period of Muslim decadence.[113]

Rethinking in Modern Islamic Thought by Daniel Brown highlights the challenges to classical Islamic ideas during the last century. Faced with the fast changing in the Socio-cultural conditions, Muslim thinkers re-examined the classical sources of Islamic law and re-defined the position of *Sunnah*. On the other hand, he also contends that modern Muslims struggled to rethink tradition in two ways; preserving the authenticity of tradition and reshaping it to fit with the modern conditions. The study is relevant in this way that it links *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement of India with Shah Waliullah and al-Shawkani.[114] *The Indian Musalmans* of W. W.

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[110] Ali Usman Qasmi, *Questioning the Authority of the Past: The Ahl-i-Quran Movements in the Punjab* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[111] M. S. Agvani, *Islamic Fundamentalism in India* (Chandigarh: 21st Century Indian Society, 1986).
[112] Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *The Wahabi Movement in India* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1966).
[113] Muhammad Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims* (London: George Allen 1967).
[114] Daniel W. Brown, *Rethinking Tradition in Modern Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Yossef Rapoprt shows the influences of Imam Ibn Taymiyya on the religious aspects of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab's Wahabism and Ahl-i-Hadith of India as well. Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmad (ed), *Ibn Tayamiyya and his Times* (London: Oxford University Press, 2010).

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and British during the period 1820 to 1870. He accuses that Muslims are rebels by dint of their religious teachings. What's more, it acknowledges that the Indian Muslims were being discriminated against by the British Government in the economic affairs.[115]

Says I. H. Qureshi, in his *Ulamā in Politics*, the interpretation of the Quran and the *Hadith* changed the Indian Muslim society into several sects. He also marks out the *Wajudi and Shuhūdi* differences of Muslim mysticism in India.[116] Although these books constitute a significant category of literature on the discourse of puritanical reform and revivalism yet these do not deal with reform and revivalist movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the Punjab particularly. *Muslim Politics in Punjab* by Qalb-i-Abid remarks upon the different dimension of the Muslim Politics in colonial Punjab.[117] *The Punjab in the 1920s* by Zarina Salamat connects that in the decade of 1920s the Muslims of the Punjab participated in the struggle of attaining freedom from the foreign rulers. The thesis further continues about the impact of the British rule on all the aspects of the Muslims of the Punjab.[118]

0.5 Approach and Methodology

As the study looks at the issue of Islamic reform and revivalism, the streams of scholarship that specifically deal with the subject or issue inform our perspective. The scholars working on South Asian Islam have viewed Islamic revival and reform through different perspectives. I have divided these works into a number of broad categories. The first category groups together the works of the scholars who see the emergence of reform and revivalist movements as a response to the challenges of British rule and the antecedents of modernity. One can place the works of Rudolph Peter and Kenneth W. Jones in this category.[119] The other stream of scholarship that works of Peter Hardy, Akbar S.Ahmed and Werbner represent, shows that how and in what ways the advent of the British rule forced the Muslim *ulama* to change their

[115] W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans* (London: 1871).
[116] I. H. Qureshi, *Ulama in Politics* (India: Ma'aref, 1972).
[117] Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in Punjab* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992).
[118] Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1996).
[119] Rudolph Peter, "Ijtihad and Taqlid in 18th and 19th century Islam," *Die Welt des Islam* 20, 3/4(1980): 131-145. Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reform Movements in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

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Jamal Malik show how the process of rising of revivalist and reform movements strengthened the positions of *ulama* vis-à-vis sufis and how the former came into postion of posing a serious challenge to the Shrine-centerd Islam. The following paragraphs explicate the ideas the works of these writers have expressed.

Rudolph Peters argued in his work that all the Muslim reformist movements during the nineteenth century were basically the response to the challenges of increasing Western influences in the Muslim world.[121] Kenneth W. Jones explained the view in more details particularly with reference to the phenomenon of reform and revivalist movements in India. He identified a number of key factors mainly related to proseltyzing of the Christian Missionaries that contributed towards the rise of the Muslim reformist movements. These included, the role of Christian missionaries, the publication of polemical writings and beginning of new rituals of conversion. His work shows that how these socio-religious movements, which had previously been taking up more defensive postions were compelled to adopt aggressive stances.[122]

Peter Hardy opined that the Muslim reform movements of the late nineteenth century reform brought a major shift in the Muslim attitude towards Islam and led to the rejection of medieval Islam in favour of early Islam in Arabia. This shift also helped to alter the Muslim position towards the Hindus.[123] Akbar S. Ahmed saw the rise of revivalist and reform Muslim movement as the outcome of the impact of the colonial rule that forced the Muslims to adopt a defensive position.[124] Werbner traced the sectarian development of Islam in India with reference to the colonial conquest of the Muslim empire. She argued that this development transformed the perceptions of the Muslim scholars, which in turn brought change in their role and facilitated the rise of a class of educated political activist that had strong religious convictions.[125]

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[120] Peter Hardy, *The Muslim of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). Akbar S Ahmad, *Islam in Society* (London: Saqi Books, 1986). Pnina Werbner, "The Making of Muslim Dissent: Hybridized Discourses, Lay Preachers, and Radical Rhetoric among British Pakistani." *American Ethnologist* 23, no.1 (Feb. 1996): 102-122.
[121] Rudolph Peters, "Idjtihad and Taqlid in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Islam, 131.
[122] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reform Movements in British India*, 1-2.
[123] Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, 59.
[124] Akbar S. Ahmed, *Islam in Society,* (London: Saqi Books, 1986), 1-4.
[125] Werbner, "The Making of Muslim Dissent," 111.

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reformist movements as a direct challenge to the entire culture of saints and shrines.[126] Francis Robinson explained the phenomenon of the rise of the Islamic revivalist and reformist movements as an inevitable outcome of the experience of Muslim subjugation under British rule. His works further highlighted that how and in what ways the puritanical thrust of reformist movements strengthened the position of *ulama* vis-à-vis sufis.[127] Jamal Malik distinguished the mystical dimensions from the *Shar ī ʾat* based Islam whose representatives were the scholars of law. They generally rejected the syncretic influences in favour of Islamic law in its pure form.[128]

As the previous discussion highlighted that how the reform and revivalist movements of Muslims posed a direct challenge to the Shrine-centered Islam and syncretic influences. While carrying this discussion forward it would be relevant to bring into discussion a number of theoretical models. It is necessary to make this point clear in this section that the study uses the framerworks to interpret these developments not as organizing frameworks as this study is mainly an empirical work does not use theory to guide the research design of the thesis.

The study deploys a number of theories to interpret the development of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* and the impact it was produced on its followers and more particularly the challenges it posed to the Shrine-centered Islam. The study proposes the following theories:(i) Max Weber's (1864-1920) theory of encounter of modernity with Catholicism, which resulted in the rise of Protestantism;(ii) 'Frame theory' of David Snow and Robert Bensford, and;(iii) Bjorn Utvik's 'individualizing impact'.

Max Weber theory shows that how the encounter between Catholicism with modernity led to the displacement of syncretic influences of Catholicism and facilitated the rise of Protestantism in Christianity. This was clearly manifested in the shift from other-world asceticism to this-worldliness. This theory lends us useful insights to understand the encounter between modernity and *Waliullahi* movement in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries that seriously challenged the syncretic tradition of Islam in India. One can construe the rise of the Deoband and the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movements as clear

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[126] Eaton, *Essays on Islam*, 204.
[127] Francis Robinson, *Islam, South Asia and the West* (London: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[128] Jamal Malik, *Colonialization of Islam: Dissolution of Traditional Institutions in Pakistan* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1996), 8.

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to trace the influence of the shift from Shrine-Centered Islam to puritanical Islam in the context of the rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement.

The study finds David A. Snow and Robert Bensford's "frame theory" as another useful theoretical approach.[130] This theory defines framing as a 'conscious strategic effort by the groups of people to fashion a shared understanding of the world and of them that legitimate and motivate collective action'.[131]While underscoring the importance of "frame" the theory highlights its capacity "to resonate". The authors particularly stress the "resonation of a language in a particular context". The use of frame as a mechanism of socialization enables the leaders of the religious movements "to exercise such an effective authority over its followers" that "transform[s] them into ready recipients of that authority".[132].This theory can be useful in the understanding of the techniques of religio-reform movements particularly *Ahl-i-Hadith* in late nineteenth and twentieth century Punjab before partition. We can argue that this theory holds its relevance in the context of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in trems of enhancing our understanding that how the movement was able to fashion shared understanding among its followers of this movement that "legitimized and motivated collective action".[133]

Another conceptual insight that the study finds relevant is the theory of individualizing impact of "personal responsibility of the believer to struggle for the cause of God". The protagonists of Islamism seek to evoke the emotions/nostalgia of their followers around this notion. Bjorn Utvik, the main exponent of the theory, deployed it to focus on modernizing aspect of Islamism in Egypt. In one of his articles in 2001, he sought to assess the effects of individualizing impact of the idea of

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[129] Werbner, "The Making of Muslim Dissent," 102.

[130] David A. Snow is a professor of sociology at the University of Califonia, Los Angeles. Robert Bensford is professor of Sociology at University of South Florida.

[131] Distinguished political scientist Carrie Wickham[131] has used this theory in her research entitled *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt,* to study political movement in Egypt. She is of the opinion that "what is crucial is the capacity of a frame to work to resonate as the language goes in a particular context. To achieve resonance it is not enough for the political agenda to be based on Islam. Leaders must have authority, followers must be receptive to that authority and all must be held together in a network of social relationship."

[132] Carrie Wickham, in Ravinder Kaur (ed), *Religion, Violence and Political Mobilization in South Asia* with a Foreword by Francis Robinson, 10.

[133] Ibid.

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individualizing impact, he highlighted the role of personal choice and other basic ideas such as calling, particularly call for the impersonation of public life, the demand to end corruption, nepotism and patronage and the primacy of merit etc.[135]

By using these theoretical insights of Max Weber this study analyzes the impact of modernity on Islam in South Asia. It further seeks to trace the development of religo-reform movements particularly, the *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Colonial Punjab. It applies the 'Frame theory' to arrive at a profound understanding of the techniques of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement deployed to spread its ideology. Bjorn Utvik's 'individualizing impact' provides a reasonable interpretation of strong bond the movement was able to develop between its leadership and followers. Cummulatively, the study seeks to deploy the theoretical insights to assess the impact of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement on the syncretic ethos of Punjab.

Before describing the methodological approaches pertaining to the data collection it would be relevant to address the key methodological questions. These include: Why a thesis on the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement? Why I have chosen Punjab as the regional target of the Movement inspite of the fact that its pioneers Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan and Syed Nazir Hussain had spent a large part of their lives in Bhopal and Delhi? Another question is related to the choice of the period.

As the previous section on the survey of literature shows the study falls into the larger stream of scholarship that deals with studies of the discourse of revival and reform process in Northern and Northwestern India through the lenses[figuratively]of specialized studies of religious seminaries and institution that Muslims had established and socio-religiuos reform movements that Muslims had launched. The scholar like H.A.Walter [1918][136], Laven Spencer [2002][137], Barbara Mectcalf

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[134] Bjorn Utvik, "Modern Force of Islamism" in Ravinder Kaur (ed), *Religion, Violence and Political Mobilization in South Asia,* with a Foreward by Francis Robinson, 14.
[135] Ibid.
[136] H. A. Walter, *The Religious Life of India: The Ahmadiya Movement* (Calcutta: Associated Press, 1918)
[137] Lavan Aspencer, *The Ahmadiya Movement: A History and Perspective* (Delhi: Manohar Books, 1974)

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movement, the Deoband and the Berelvi movement. The works of Francis Robinson [2001][140] and Yoginder Skind [2002][141] further expanded the field by producing authoratitive texts on *Madrasa-i-Frangi* Mahal and the *Tableeghi Jamaat*. Later Sana Haroon in 2007 coverd the phenomenon of Muslim revivalist movements in the Indo-Afghan border lands particularly the Northwestern Frontier regions of India.[142] While the works of the afore-mentioned scholars have pioneerd the field specialized studies of *madrasa*s, and discourse of religio-reform movements, within that field the scholars like Martin Rexinger [2004][143] and Matt D.Yarrington[2010][144] produced seminal works on *Ahl-i-Hadith*. M. Rexinger, a scholar of Islam in South Asia, carried out a definitive study on Sana Ullaah Amritsari (1868-1948), an influential scholar and preacher of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, where as Matt D.Yarrington made the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Bangladesh focus of his study. Still, a detalied historical study on *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab during the colonial era remained an area which required scholarly attention.

The study makes undivided Punjab not UP particularly Bhopal and Delhi, the places where the pioneers of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan and Syed Nazir Hussain had preached the message of the movement, as a vantage point to study the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. Because the western and central parts of Punjab before partition were the areas that constituited sizeable or substantial Muslim majority. For instance, the percentage of Muslim population in Punjab was more than fifty-five per cent whereas the percentage of Muslim population in Bhopal was less than thirteen percent.[145] Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan, moved to Bhopal when he was in dire

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[138] Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband* 1860-1900 (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982)

[139] Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan and His Movement 1870-1920* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996)

[140] Francis Robinson, *The Ulama of Frangi Mahal and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (London: Hurst $ Company, 2001)

[141] Yoginder Sikand, The Origin and Development of the Tablighi Jamaat 1920-2000 (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2002)

[142] Sana Haroon, *Frontier of Faith: Islam in Indo-Afghan Boderland* (London: Hurst $ Company, 2007)

[143] Martin Riexinger, Sana Ullah Amritsari (1868-1948) und die Ahl-i-hadis im Punjab unter britischer Herrschaft (Wurzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2004)

[144] Matt D. Yarrington, "Lived Islam in Bangladesh: Contemporary Religious Discourse between Ahl-i-Hadith, Hanafis, and Authoritative Text with special reference to al-barzakh" Ph. D. diss. (University of Edinburg, 2010)

[145] Gazetteer of Bhopal State, Vol.III, Texts and Tables,1908, 35. The Gazetteer was compiled by C. E. Luard. Main population of Bhopal was Sunnis and tazyas were always borne in procession, being sent by Hindus as well as Muslims.

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his life to the study of *Hadith* and other scholarly works. His marriage with Shah Jahan Begum in 1871 gave him an opportunity to patronize *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Bhopal.[146] It was mainly the Ahi-i-Hadith scholars of Delhi and Punjab that embraced the religious ideas of his teachings. Hence, I argue that coming of Siddiq Hasan Khan (1832-90) into Bhopal was almost accidental. It was not an outcome of a deliberate choice or strategy to spread the ideology of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Bhopal. Once he got settled in Bhopal he carried out major scholarly works that influenced a number of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars.

Though Delhi emerged as one of the earliest centres of the movement, one can analogize its role as a springboard [figuratively] that facilitated the penetration of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement particularly into its contiguous territories of Punjab. One cannot identify Delhi exclusively as the sole province of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement as I argue that Delhi being a major center of learning was the hub of a number of sufi hospices and a number of religo-reform and revivalist movements had established their seminaries and educational institutions in the city. Table 0.4 lists a few of those.

Table 0.5: The Prominent Muslim *Madrasa*s of Delhi

The Nomenclature of the Institution	The Year of Establishment	Founders
Madrasa-i-Muiziya	c.1238-39 A.D	Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish
Madrasa-i-Nasiriya	c.1250s A.D	Nasir-ud-Din
Madrasa-i-Feroz Shahi	c.1352-53 A.D	Feroz Shah Tughliq
Madrasa Khair-ul-Manazil	c.1562-63 A.D	Maham Begum
Madrasa of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya[147]	Seventeenth century	Nizam-ud-Din Auliya
Madrasa-i-Jamia Masjid Delhi	c.1650 A.D	Shah Jahan
Madrasa-i-Rahimiya	In the beginning of Eighteenth Century	Shah Abdul Rahim

Source: Abul Hasanat Nadvi, *Hindustan ki Qadeem darasgahaein* (Azamgarh: Dar-ul-Musanafein, 1971), 20-26.

The Table shows that major centers of religious learning of Muslim had been clustered around the city. Syed Nazir Hussain one of the pioneers of the movement had established a religious seminary to disseminate the religious message of the movement. This *madrasa* was later named after him and it emrged as one of the leading centers of the movement (The section 2.5 of Chapter 2 provides more details

[146] Abida Sultan, *Memoirs of a Rebel Princess* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 10.

[147] His *khanqah* produced several famous *khalifas* such as Khawaja Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh Delhvi (1274-1356), Khawaja Kaleem Ullah Jahanabadi (1650-1729) and Khawaja Fakhr-ud-Din (1717-1790).

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Delhi cannot be taken as an exclusive center of the movement. However, one cannot deny the pivotal role it played in the spread of Ahi-i-Hadith teachings in Punjab. Therefore, any study on *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab cannot be deemed complete without weaving into its narrative the important role the city of Delhi played in the dissemination of the ideology of the movement.

Punjab was adjacent to Delhi; it was the province having a sizeable majority of Muslims and it provided fertile grounds for the Muslim religo-reform movements to disseminate their religious message. Moreover, the territories of the province had remained under the very strong influence of the syncretic tradition. Though I hold the opinion that the latter 's supposedly homogenous and unified character ought not to be over-emphasized [I have tried to dispel this perception in the previous section].Nevertheless, the influence of the syncretic tradition remained strong, therefore, religio-reform movements specifically the *Ahl-i-Hadith*, and the Ahmadiyya Movement made it their regional target.[148]

The *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the province began to spring up from Amritsar and its vicinities later it spread its influence in Lahore, Gujranwala, Wazirabad and Sialkot [All these territories later formed the core areas of Central Punjab after the partition of India]. After the partition, the scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith* settled in other areas of Punjab like Okara, Qasur, and Khanewal.

During the period that the present study investigates the movement had not been able to develop considerable influence in South Punjab, only a few individuals that received education in the particularly in the *madrasa*s of Nawab Siddique Hasan and Sayed Nazir Hussain became carriers of the influences of the movement. For instance, Qamar-ud-Din, who hailed from Multan, embraced the creed of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Later he sent his three sons Abdul Ghaffar, Abdul Tawwab (1871-1947) and Abdul Barr to the *madrasa* of Syed Nazir Hussain in Delhi. Among them, Abdul Tawwab became a well known preacher of the movement. He established a publishing house named the *Maktaba-e-Salafia* and under its auspices published the works of Imam Ibn Taymiyya, Imam Ibn Qayum, and Imam Shaukani. Sultan

[148] Even the religio-reform movements of Hindus and Sikhs like the off-shoots of Brahmo Samj (since 1860's) , the Dev Samaj , the Arya Samaj and the Singh Sabhas and later the Akali movement all made the territories of the province centre of their reform work.
Arya Samaj, Dev Samaj and off-shoots of Brahmo Samj

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famous preachers of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Multan. Sultan Mahmud Multani wrote a booklet in refutation of the doctrine of *Wadhat-tul-Wajud* (The Ontological Monism) as well as some other booklets in the negation of *Taqleed* (Uncritical and blind following). Ibrahim Chakralvi was the son of Abdullah Chakralvi—the founder of Ahl-i-Quran sect, but he remained an ardent supporter of the cause of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Another prominent figure in South Punjab was Abdur Rehman Bhawalpuri, who played a key role in organizing *Ahl-i-Hadith* conference in Multan in 1920.

The movement further made concerted efforts to disseminate its message in the districts and the states of East Punjab. Ishaq Bhatti (d.2015), a renowned historian of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movements lists the name of districts and states in the East Punjab where *Ahl-i-Hadith* had established their *madrasa*s. It would be useful to provide the list in the tabular form Table 0.6 provides the list.

Table 0.6: The Establishment of *Ahl-i-Hadith Madrasa*s in the Districts and the Princely States of East Punjab

The Name of Districts	The Names of the Princely States
Rothak	Patiala
Hisar	Kapurthala
Gurgawan	Jind
Karnal	Nabha
Ambala	Nalagarh
Jullahandur	Faridkot
Ludhaina	Maleerkotla
Hoshiarpur	Kalsia
Ferozepur	
Gurdaspur	
Amritsar	
Kangra	

Source: Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-e-Saghir mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Surgujist* (Lahore:2012),p.52.

The Table enlists twelve districts and seven princely states of East Punjab where the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement had established its *madrasa*s. It also shows the specific focus of the movement on carrying out proselyzing activities in those parts of the provinces where Muslims were in minority. While alluding to the states Ishaq Bhatti mentions that among the seven states only Maleerkotla was the state where Muslims were in majority.[149] He ruefully remarks that

> 'There existed innumerable mosques of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in these districts and states. These had elaborate arrangements of holding prayers five-times a day and round-the-clock recitation of Holy Quran. Moreover, they had also organized circles for carrying out teaching and proselytizing activities. The Friday congregations were

[149] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-e-Saghir mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Surgujist* (Lahore:2012),p.52.

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avenues for propogation of religion were completely exhausted.'[150]

The discussion in the previous section about the choice of Punjab as the area of the study of the thesis shows that how the leadership of the movement had given high priority to Punjab. Therefore, any study on *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in colonial India should make Punjab as a vantage point.

Another interesting aspect that further justifies the choice of Punjab as a vantage to study the Ahl-i-Hadth movement was that the territories of Punjab in the Nineteenth century was far more receptive to new ideas in the mid of the continuing process of revival and reform. One can attribute it to multi-religious, multi-ethnic and plural nature of the society in the province, which in certain ways encouraged as well as provide more space to the leaders of reform and revivalist movements to make Punjab focal point of their reform initiatives. That is why we find that since the post-Mutiny era to the end of the nineteenth century a number of reform and revival movements of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs created or gained a considerable following in the province. Table 0.6 provides a list of some of the prominent organizations that involved themselves proactively in the process of reform and revivalism.

Table 0.7: Some Prominent reform and revivalist Organization/Movements in Punjab

The Hindu Reform and Revivalist Organizations	The Reform and Revivalist Movements of Muslims	The Reform Movements of Sikhs
The off-shoots of Brahmo Samaj [the 1860's]	The establishment of Deobandi *madrasa*	The establishment of Singh sabhas from 1873 onwards
Arya Samaj [1875]	The Ahi-i-Hadith movement	
Dev Samaj	Influences of Aligarh Movement particularly after Syed Ahmed Khan's visit to Punjab in 1884	
Sanatan Dhram	Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam [1884]	
Cow Protection Societies	Ahemidiya Movement	
Prathna Samaj	Diffusion of Brelvi Influences	
	The Establishment of Shiite Organizations	

Source: Sheikh Muhammad Ismaeel, *Syed Ahmad khan Ka safar Nama-i-Punjab* (Lahore: Majlis-i-Taraqi-i-Adab, 1973), 43, 345. Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reforms Movements in British India* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994). Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam, and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelvi and His Movement 1870-1920* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996). Peter Hardy, *The Muslim of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972)

The Table shows that how the territories of Punjab provided fertile ground to a number of *sabhas*, *Samajs*, *anjumans*, societies, and clubs. It would be relevant to quote Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), a renowned poet, intellectual and Muslim

[150] Ibid.

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of his couplets:

مذہب میں بہت تازہ پسند اس کی طبیعت
کر لے کہیں منزل تو گزرتا ہے بہت جلد
تحقیق کی بازی ہو تو شرکت نہیں کرتا
ہو کھیل مریدی کا تو ہرتا ہے بہت جلد
تاویل کا پھندا کوئی صیاد لگا دے
یہ شاخ نشیمن سے اترتا ہے بہت جلد

A newborn faith invokes his taste,
Adopts with zeal but leaves with haste.
In the search for truth, he takes no part,
As the disciple stakes both head and heart.
If comments' snare some hunter set,
From nest on bough would drop in net.[151]

Let us have a few words about the period of the study. The period the study investigates, constitutes the most important part of the study of the movement on account of a number of reasons. For instance, it enables us to trace the formative influences on the movement more thoroughly, and; place the movement in a broader social-political milieu in the province, which in certain ways may broaden our understanding about the overall process of reform and revivalism in the Punjab in the nineteenth century. Moreover, it was exactly the same era where the influences of the movement began to spread in the province that found visible manifestation in the establishment of *madrasa*s in Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, and Sialkot. The *madrasa*s trained a number of scholars that disseminated the teachings of the movement in the other parts of the province. Thus they played a key role in building up a network of *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s across the province. As the previous section on the survey of the literature showed major gaps in the period that further encouraged me to make the years between 1880 and 1947 as the focal point of the enquiry.

After having discussed the theoretical insights and addressing key methodological questions it would be relevant to identify new sources and the data that the study has discovered and made accessible.

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[151] Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *Zarb-i-Kaleem* (Lahore: Ghulam Ali Publishers, 1972), 61. Iqbalurdu.blogspot.com/2011/04/zarb-e-kaleem-063-punjabi-mualman.html

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sources. Primary sources are further categorized into official publications and non-official writings. Official publications included Gazetteers, Census of India, Punjab Administration Reports, Punjab Law Record, Reports of the Indian Statutory Commission and Statistics of British India. Gazetteers of the several districts of Colonial Punjab (such as Amritsar, Ferozepur, Gurdaspur, Jullundur of East Punjab and Sialkot, Gujranwala, Jhang, Jhelum, and Lahore of West Punjab) provide information on the social and religious life of inhabitants. They shed light on the brief history of socio-religious transition as well.

Census reports of India from 1891 to 1941 are used for the acquisition of a collection of data relating to the population of Muslims as a whole and its comparison with the population of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab. It would be helpful in concluding that how much the population of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* is increased in which decade of years. For this purpose, I used Census of India 1891, Volume XX, Punjab, and Its Feduatories, Census of India 1901, Census of India 1911, Volume XIV Punjab, Census of 1921, Volume XV Punjab and Delhi, Census of India, 1931, Volume XVII, Punjab and Census of India 1941. Data collected from these decennial census reports is of primary importance to me in constructing the history of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab. They also provide information about the increase of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the specific districts of Punjab as well. Much of my knowledge pertaining to the increase of *Ahl-i-Hadith* population has been retrieved from these census reports.

Punjab Administration Report 1914-15, Punjab Administration Report 1916-17, Punjab Administration Report 1917-18 Punjab Administration Report 20-21, offer data concerning the publications of the books, newspapers, and periodicals in the Punjab. These provide detailed figures of the press and its production. Punjab Administration Report 1923-24 puts into place the communal consciousness of the Muslim population. It also remarks on the emergence of *Shudhi* movement in Punjab. It reports communal riots in Amritsar, Multan and other parts of the Punjab. Punjab Administration Report 1925-26 reflects the passing of the Sikh *Gurdwara* Act. It refers to the serious disturbance in Panipat on the eve of Muharram. It further reveals the opposition between the supporters and opponents of Ibn Saud. Punjab Administration Report 1927-28 situates the events of the murder of Swami Shardhanad in Delhi and publishing

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Central Committee, 1928-29 discloses the miseries of the Muslims since the abortive attempt of Independence in 1857. While constructing the history of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab, I retrieved material from these sources carefully by keeping in mind the colonial context of these publications.

The second section of primary sources consists of the writings of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars and contemporary Sufi representatives. Muhammad Hussain Batalvi (1841-1920), an *Ahl-i-Hadith* pioneer scholar in Punjab wrote a letter to Lord Dufferin (r. 1884--1888), the British viceroy in 1886, demanding that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* would not be labeled as Wahabis, rather than they would be called with the nomenclature of '*Ahl-i-Hadith*'. It was obvious that the term 'Wahabi' was denoted towards the nation of disloyalty. The matter was brought under the discussion of the Council and it was decided that the term 'Wahabi' would be discontinued in official correspondence. The matter was discussed in detail in Urdu journal *Ishaat-ul-Sunnah* in July 1886.

Sayed Nazir Hussain (1805-1902)'s writings included *Fatawā-i-Naziriyya*, *Mihyar-ul-Haq* and others are considered the basic books relating to the *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideology. Siddiq Hassan Khan Bhopali (1832-1890)'s *Tarjuman-ul-Wahabiya* discussed the issue that the followers of the movement would be called themselves as *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Muhammad Hussain Batalvi (1841-1920), Ghulam Rasul Qalvi (1813-1895), Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti extensively wrote for the dissemination of *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideology. Sana Ullah Amritsari wrote *Haqq Parkash* (1900) and *Muqadas Rasul* (Septemper 1924). His famous *Tafsir-i-Sanai* in eight volumes strengthened the ideology of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. He also started newspapers and journals such as *Muraqah-i-Qadiyani, Musalman,* and *Ahl-i-Hadith* for diffusion of *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideas among the Muslims of India. Files of these newspapers are available in the library of Dar-ul-Dahwa Salfia Lahore.

The Sufi-centered Islam has been defended by the prominent Sufis of the time in their daily sermons known as *malfuzat* which were later collected by their disciples. At times the pirs themselves revised the written sermon. These were aimed to praise the mystical achievements of the Sufis especially Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani and Ibn-i-Arabi. In this thesis, I used *Malfuzat-i-Mahriya* (Pir Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi) collected by his disciples Muhammad Hayat Khan, Muhammad Faazal Khan and Faiz Ahmad

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to refute the Ghair-i-Muqalideen (*Ahl-i-Hadith*) ideology and warned that this was against the Salaf and Khalaf as well. Khawaja Shams-ud-Din Sialvi's *Malfuzat* named *Mirat-ul-Ashiqeen* is vital for this thesis. These were collected by his disciple Sayed Muhammad Saeed in Persian and were translated into Urdu by Professor Ghulam Nizam-ud-Din Marulvi at Government College Bhalwal (Sargodha). Several of them consisted on his disapproval of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement because it appeared as a strong challenge to Shrine-centered Islam. Shams-ud-Din instructed his devotees about the principles of Islamic Sufism and taught his followers that Ibn Arabi's ideology of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* was not un-Islamic as declared by the reformers of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement. Pir Jama'at Ali Shah's malfuzat were published in his monthly journal *Anwār-ul- Sūfīya* since 1904. Although the matter provided in this *malfuzat* is mostly unreliable yet these depicts preview on the activities of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars and their belief system.

Ahmad Raza Khan *Barelvi*, himself belonged to UP came in Punjab many times to check the growth of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. His books were consulted by the author for the proper understanding of Barelvi belief system. In Lahore, Ahmad Raza gathered Barelvi Ulama and addressed huge gatherings at the annual session of Anjuman Naumania Lahore since the. Ghulam Dastagir Qasuri, Ghulam qadir Bhervi, Zakir Hussain Bugvi, Nabi Baksh Halvai, and Mahram Ali Chishti were among his well-wishers. His sons continued their association with the Ulama of Lahore.

Till partition, the *madrasa*s of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were not following a uniform syllabus. Sadia Arshad in his biography of Maulana Muhammad Ismail Salafi deleneates that the study of Holy Quran, its exegesis and *Hadith* was central to all the big religious seminaries of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Some of them studied *Jalalain* the exegesis of Holy Quran written by Jalal-ud-Din Muhili and Jalal-ud-Din Suyuti, *Sarf-o-Nahv* (Arabic grammar). In the domain of Hadith literature in addition to Sihah Sita was *Balog-ul-Maram* (Hafiz Ibn Hajr Asqalani) and *Mishkat-ul-Masabih* (Khatib al-Tabrizi). These seminaried did not follow Dars-i-Nizami. For the construction of their belief system, they mostly relied on the books of Ibn Taymiyya, Shah Waliuulah, Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab and Shah Ismail Shaheed.

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different debatable issues. Famous among these are *Fatawā-i-Naziriyya* (Sayed Nazir Hussain), *Fatawā-i-Sanaiyya* (Sana Ullah Amritsari) and *Fatawā-i-Ahl-i-Hadith* (Hafiz Abdullah Roari). Polemical rich literature written by the champions of different movements such as Muslims movements like Deoband, *Ahl-i-Hadith*, Barelvi, Ahl-i-Quran, Shia and Ahmadiya[152] and non-Muslims like Arya Samajis and Christian missionaries characterized this period. All these organizations are dealt on their own terms. I also consult Shia sources for polemical debates to some extend such as Murtaza Hussain's *Matlah Anwaar* a biographical dictionary of Shia scholars published in 1981.

The study has extensively used the Biographical literature on the leaders of different movements. This literature is listed below in a table form.

Table 0.8: **Biographies Used in this Thesis**

Biographers	Title of Biography	Years of Publishing
Maulana Abdul Qadir	*Sawanih Hayat Ghulam Rasul*	1930
Syed Abu Bakhar Ghaznavi	*Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi*	1974
Abdul Rashid Iraqi	*Tazkara Abul Wafa Sana* and *Ullah Amritsari*	1983
Fazal Hussain Bihari	*Al-Hayat Bahd al-Mamat*	1984
Muhammad Abdullah	*Tazkara Ulamā-i-Khanpur*	1985
Abdul Majeed	*Seerat Sanai*	1989
Muhammad Yousaf Sajjad	*Tazkara-i-Ulamā-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*	1992
Muhammad Aslam Saif	Imam-ul-Asr Maulana Muhammad Ibrahim Mir Sialkot	1994
Imam Khan Noshahrvi	Naqush-i-Abu ul Wafa	1998
Saeed Ahmad Chinioti	*Maulana Muhammad Abdullah Varowalvi*	2001
Fazl ur Rehman	Sana Ullah Amritsari	2001
Ghafor Abdul	*Muhammad Hussain Batalvi: Hayat-o-Khidmat.*	2003
Muhammad Aslam Saif	*Tehreek-i-Ahl-i-Hadith Tareekh kay Aainy Mein*	2005
Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti	*Abdul Aziz Malwada*	2006
Muhammad Rafique Asari	*Sultan Mahmud Jalalpuri*	2006
Atteq Amjad	*Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan ki Khiudmat e Hadith*	2007
Anwaar Ahmad Bugvi	*Tazkar-i-Bugviya*	2007
Mureed Ahmad Chishti	*Al-Fauz-ul-Miqal fi Khulfa-i-Pir Sial*	2007
Akhtar Hussain	*Serat Ameer-i-Millat*	2009

Secondary sources comprised of the scholarly works of some modern authors are essential for me in the construction of the history of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in

[152] This study revolves round the history of Ahl-i-Hadith till the partition of India. At that time Ahmadis were not declared as infidels. They claimed to be Muslims being a sect of Islam. They were declared as infidels in 1974 in the constitution of Pakistan.

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(Barbara Daly Metcalf, 1982), *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelvi and His Movement 1870-1920* (Usha Sanyal, 1996), *The Origin and Development of the Tablighi Jama'at 1920-2000* (Yoginder Sikand, 2002) and *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (Francis Robinson , 2001).

Let us have few words about delimitation of the study. This research deals with the growth of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. The study limits itseself to colonial Punjab more specifically between 1880 and 1947. While outlining the historical background of the movement it traces the origin or roots of the movement to Bhopal and Delhi. However, it does not not follow the course of the movement in Northern India and Bengal. It deals with the issue of the impact of the movement on the syncretic ethos of Punjab. The study seeks to assess the *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect on its own its term. It does not attempt to evaluate the validity of the beliefs that Ahi-i-Hadith.

0.6 Organization of the Study

This study is divided into five chapters with an introduction. Chapter 1 explains the occurrence of collision/ encounter between the colonial Modernity and the reform and revival movements in India. It looks at how the Modernity elicited the responses of the religious communities. After providing a synoptic view of the response of the religious communities in India in section 1.3, it narrows the focus of discussion to examine the response of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. It also shows that that how it made effective use of various tools of modernity to fashion a shared understanding among its followers about the worldview of the movement.

Chapter 2 gives a historical growth of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in colonial Punjab. It specifically assesses the role of *Ahl-i-Hadith madaras* across colonial Punjab in spreading the ideology of the movement. While tracing the origins of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* the territories of the Uttar Pradesh (UP), the chapter charts the course of the movement in the Punjab. It presents a broad view of the growth/spread of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* through the lenses (figuratively) of *ulama*, *madrasa*s and their networks. It also presents a broad outline of the syllabus that was offered in the *madrasa*s the movement had established. Section 2.5 of the chapter provides fleeting glimpses into

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shows how the hostile reaction of the Barelvi *ulama* found visible manifestations in issusance of *fatwas* against the *Ahl-i-Hadith*, incidents of the forciable expulsion of the Ahl-i-Hatith *khatibs* (the reciters of *khutba* [sermon]) and *ulama* from the mosques, and the establishment of religious organizations to counter the hostile criticism that the preachers of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had made or directed against the Shrine-centered Islam.

As the growing communal interventions in the Punjab made the disposition reform and revival movements combative and polemical. The revival of the Munāzara tradition provides its accurate reflection. The Chapter 3 of the study selects the *Manazara* tradition as a "microcosm"[emphasis added] to show the polemical and combative spirit of the reform and revival movements. The section 3.1 presents a brief overview of Munāzara tradtion in Islam. It traces its historical roots/lineage to the Quranic references and a very brief illusion to the role of Manazaras during the Ummayyad and Abbasid periods. Then it narrows the focus of debate to the instances of holding of manazaras in the Mughal court. Then it brings into discussion the role of colonial modernity to show that how the Christian missionaries functioned as agencies of proselytization of Christianity. It also highlights patronizing attitude of British towards the Christian missionaries and shows how it arose the concerns of Muslims and compelled them to counterpoise these activities by having recourse towards the agencies of modernity.

The section 3.2 assesses the implications of the role of Christian missionaries in sharpening communal antagonism. This section also elicts the responses of Muslim and Hindu communal organizations. Section 3.3 shifts the focus of the debate to gauge the response of the Muslim sects to the activities of the Christian missionaries and provides explicit examples of involvement of the sects like Deobandi, Barelvis, Shiites, Ahmadis etc. The next section looks at the interventions of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the debates. It presents a sort of case study of the *munāzarazs* that *Ahl-i-Hadith* conducted with the Muslim sects like Hanafis (Deobandis and Barelvis), Shiites, Ahl-i-Quran and Ahmadis.

The Ulamā of the sect also made forays in the field of politics. Chapter 4 chronicles the political history of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in the Punjab. The

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1906 when All India Jamaat-i-*Ahl-i-Hadith* was established. During the same period, *Ahl-i-Hadith* started holding the *Ahl-i-Hadith* conferences. I argue in the Chapter that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* cannot be associated or identified with one definite political stance or attitude. Because over the course of almost a century – that is between 1850's and 1947 they took on different positions. Though, they steadfastly defended their religious beliefs. However, in the political arena, the leadership of *Ahl-i-Hadith* remained divided. Hence, it could not pursue a coherent political strategy.The Chapter shows that how the individuals followed their own trajectories in politics through different platforms like Jamiat ul Ulamā-i-Hind, Congress, Majlis-i-Ahrar, and the All India Muslim League (AIML).

Chapter 5 examines the nature and effects of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* challenge to the Shrine-centered Islam, section 5.1 of the chapter exaplains, the basics of thinking and teachings of sufis. It further attempts to assess the effects of the Sufi Tradition on the Punjab. It also weaves into the discussion the theme of deep-rooted and unbroken syncretic tradition of the Punjab the origins of which go back to the period before the *Wajudi* ideas of Ibn-ul-Arabi came to surface and began to influence Islamic Sufism.[153] (While making any claims/assertions about essence or characteristic features of the syncretic ethos of the precolonial Punjab the author of the study is fully aware of the pitfalls of refied representation). The section shows that the *sufi* tradition not only [by and large] accepted the syncretic ethos/tradition but also in certain ways passed them on to the coming generations. Thus the interface of syncretic traditions in India [before the advent of Islam], and the sufi tradition embracing the Wajudi ideology helped in/contrubited toward defining the nature and identity of the Shrine-centered Islam. Section 5.2 provides insights about the sharp critique that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* made of the Shrine-centerd Islam. The next section (5.3) narrows the scope of discussion to empirical evidence concering the nature of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* challenge to the Shrine-centered Islam in colonial Punjab.

The last section (5.4) assesses the overall impact of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* on the scriptural Islam.It shows that though the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement could not be able to displace/ or erode the influence of the Shrine-centred Islam. Nevetheless it was able to

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[153] The teachings of Baba Farid Shakar Ganj (1175-1265), embrace this doctrine. e

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most discernable impact the was shift toward scriptural Islam. It also highlights the far-reaching effects of the Salafia Islam in the post-Colonial Pakistan. Even the Deobabi movement in the post-Colonial Pakistan fell under the influences particularly since the 1980's.The study also asserts emphatically that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* wielded enormous influence on the ethos of Shrine-centered Islam in the Punjab that was quite disproportionate to its size/ numerical strength in the population. For instance, accoding to the Census carried out in 1931 the proportion of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the total Muslim population of Punjab was not more than 1.5 % inspite the exponential growth of the sect between 1891 and 1931.[154] Even in the present era number of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in population has not exceeded more than 5 %.

[154] Census of India 1901, Vol. XVII, The Punjab, its Feudatories and the North-West Frontier Province, Part I, 142. Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV. Punjab, Part I, 166. Census of India, 1921, Vol. XV. Punjab and Delhi, Part I, 166. Census of India, 1931, Vol. 17 , Punjab, part.1, 313.

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CHAPTER- 1

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CHAPTER- 1

Modernity and the Response of Religious Communities in India during the Post-1857 Era

The chapter explains the phenomenon of the advent of "Modernity" in India in the Eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries and seeks to examine the response of the two major religious communities of India towards modernity. It argues that the phenomenon of modernity created a number of responses. The responses embracing the critical and rational aspects of modernity challenged the tradition--the response of Brahmo Samaj and Aligarh Movement bear clear testimony to the fact. However, modernity could not result into an outright rejection of tradition rather it created a window of opportunities for the religious movements to reinforce and reassert tradition in more effective ways as religious movements like Deoband and Arya Samaj utilized the avenues such as the proselytizing methods of Christian missionaries, the organizational and bureaucratic forms of modern educational institutions and the print culture to articulate their religious philosophy. The chapter, while placing the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in the context, argues that *Ahl-i-Hadith* by utilizing the avenues that modernity provided, made use of platforms of religious discussion that Christian missions had been deploying, established a network of religious seminaries and produced key scriptural texts of Quran, Hadith and the other extensive corpuses of the literature of the major *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā to convey the religious message of the movement.

The purpose of including the Chapter in the present enquiry is to highlight/trace the impact of the advent of Modernity under British rule more clearly and establish its relationship with reform and revival movements. Section 0.2.2 of the Introduction and this Chapter show that what kind of avenues the advent of Modernity had opened up/provided the reform and revival movements in India, particularly in colonial Punjab. The movements deployed the agencies of Modernity to spread their ideologies and disseminate their message. Section 0.2.2 of the Introduction examines the theme. The Chapter reinforces the point that the collision of the Muslim reform and revival movements with the colonial Modernity not only diluted the syncretic hues/ethos of the former but also reinforced their puritanical streaks.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The section 1.1 explains the overall concept of "Modernity". The next section examines the theme of the advent of

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reform movements of Hindus and Muslims towards modernity, while the last section [1.4] assesses the response of *Ahl-i-Hadith* towards modernity.

1.1 Explaining the Term "Modernity"

It is difficult to define the term modernity as it takes on different dimensions.[155] In the simplest sense, it signifies a historical epoch between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. One can ask the question that when did it arise? For some scholars, modernity had come with the rise of modernity coincided with the emergence of the mercantile economy. On the other hand, some scholars trace its origins with the onset of the Industrial Revolution. While others associate the phenomenon with the European Renaissance. Some describe the Enlightenment (1690—1789) as its point of origin. Charles Piot, a postmodernist scholar describes it as a product of Globalization.[156] Heidegger (1889-1976), a German philosopher, continues "Modernity" as phenomena emanating from post-traditional and post-medieval historical periods[157].

The period discussion linked "Modernity" to the time period. Let us also look at the epochal divisions. A more familiar example of the latter divides modernity into three periods namely: of several historians have divided the history of the Eurocentric modernity[158] into three epochs namely; early modernity (1500-1789 or from 1453-1789)[159], classical modernity (1789-1900) and late modernity (1900 to present or till 1989). Some scholars add the period of post-modernity beginning the end of the twentieth century, as another distinct period of modernity.[160]

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[155] Recent years have seen several facets of modernity such as early modernity, colonial modernity and multiple modernity. But here it is not the place to discus at length the debate concerning the kinds of modernity or as *our modernity* as Partha Chaterjee claims. See Saurabh Dube, "Introduction: Colonialism, Modernity, Colonial Modernities," *Daedalus* 3, no.2 (2002): 197-219.

[156] Charles Piot, "Of Hybridity, Modernity, and their Malcontents," *Interventions* 3, no.1 (2001): 89.

[157] Martin Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology, and other Essay,* (trans. William Lovit), (New York: Harper &Row, 1938).

[158] Scientific period started with the introduction of new measures into the fields of Physics and Astronomy by Copernicus (1473-1543), Kepler (1571-1630) and Galileo Galilei (1564-1642). Rene Descartes (1596-1650) influenced by scientific approaches of Galileo and Bacon (1561-1626) had proposed that human being could be studied like a complex machine. See Hossein Aghababa, "Modern Islam and Islamic Modernity," *IPEDR* 17 (2011):26.

[159] A number of events caused Europe to bring rapid changes. Some of them included the Fall of Constantipinole on 29 May 1453 into the hands of Ottoman Army, the Fall of Muslim Spain on 1492, the Discovery of America in 1492 and Martin Luther's Protestant Reformism in 1517.

[160] Anthony Giddens is a British sociologist who is known for his theory of structuration and his holistic view of modern societies. He wrote about thirty-four books on several issues

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Table 1.1 lists the definitions of numbers of scholars highlight who define "Modernity"

Table 1.1: The Definitions of Modernity highlighting its Characteristic Features

Name of the Scholar	His/Her definition of Modernity
Max Weber (1864-1920)	"modernity was the process of instrumental rationalization"
Habermas	It embraces the ideals of the Enlightenment, which was marked by traits like science, knowledge, reason, and progress etc.
Chris Barker[161]	as a move from feudalism toward capitalism, industrialization, secularization, the nation-state and its constituent institutions and forms of surveillance.
Saurabh Dube	Modernity rests on rupture and it brings into view the breaking of magical settlements, surpassing of medieval superstitions and undoing of hierarchical traditions.[162]
Iftikhar Malik[163]	"The post-Renaissance forces of rationalism, nationalism, secularism, capitalism, socialism, urban professionalism and more recently of gender equality and social mobilization are the powerful imprints of modernism which collectively underwrites modernity".[164]
Willie Thompson	'modernity is the system of globalized exchange, constant technological revolution, demographic growth and mass society commencing since the fifteenth century of Europe'

Sources: Max Weber and Habermas cited in Charles Piot, "Of Hybridity, Modernity, and their Malcontents," 89. Chris Barker cited in Ahmad N. Amir, Abdi O. Shuriye, and Ahmad F. Ismail, "Muhammad Abduh's Contribution to Modernity," *Asian Journal Of Management Sciences and Education* 1, no.1 (April 2012). Saurabh Dube, "Introduction: Enchantments of Modernity, "*The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (2002): 729. Iftikhar H. Malik, *Islam, Globalization, and Modernity: The Tragedy of Bosnia* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2004), 5-6, and; Willie Thompson, *Postmodernism, and History* (England: Macmillan Distribution Limited, 2004), 132.

All the definitions included in Table 1.1 describe the characteristic features of the concept. They also help us to understand what kind of changes modernity introduced in Western society. All definitions provided by the works of scholars like Max Weber, Habermas, Chris Barker, Saurabh Dube, and Iftikhar H. Malik focus on the characteristics traits of the phenomenon. While the definition of Willie Thompson includes both the features the characteristic traits and the temporal dimension[165].

Both kinds of concepts of "Modernity" that we discussed either focus on temporal dimensions or foreground the characteristic features of the term. But both of them preclude a critical aspect of the discourse—that is its "euro-centric" trappings.[166]

Another important debate regarding Modernity and Tradition is that the former removes the latter by creating incredulity about the sacred underpinnings

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[161] Chris Baker is an Associate Professor in Media and Cultural Studies at the University of Wollolgong, Australia.

[162] Saurabh Dube, "Introduction: Enchantments of Modernity,"*The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no.4 (2002): 729.

[163] Dr. Iftikhar H. Malik is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society at Bath Spa University College, Bath, England.

[164] Iftikhar H Malik, *Islam, Globalization and Modernity: The Tragedy of Bosnia* (Lahore: Vangaurd Books, 2004), 5-6.

[165] A scholar of contemporary history.

[166] Benjamin I. Schwartz, "Culture, Modernity, and Nationalism-Further Reflections," *Reconstructing Nations and States* 122, no.3 (Sum., 1993): 207.

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the sacred underpinnings around it. But one should make this broad generalization with the caveat that "Modernity" reinforces the tradition as it opens up numerous possible avenues for the adherents of tradition to express their point of views. Joseph R. Gusfield (1923—2015), a sociologist, while examining Indian society arrived at a similar conclusion. Writing about the Indian society in 1967, he found the latter not static. His finding pointed to the fact that tradition and modernity were not polar opposites as the linear theory of social change suggested. The Indian example demonstrated that modernity did not weaken tradition.[167] This contention is very important in the context of the present study, as the encounter of the socio-religious movements with the colonial modernity in India (particularly in colonial Punjab) clearly showed that modernity could not sweep away [figuratively] the religious tradition rather the religious movements were able to withstand the onslaught of modernity by embracing a number of traits of modernity. The theme runs through the sections 1.3 of this chapter and 5.4 of chapter 5.

1.2 The Advent of Modernity in India: An Overview

The influences of modernity had started spreading in India since the seventeenth century. However, the process gained irreversible momentum after the expansion of the activities of the East India Company (EIC) particularly when it became a territorial power after the battle of Plassey in 1757. There were three major agencies that acted as carriers of colonial modernity. These included: (i) the Christian Missionaries ;(ii) the modern education system, and ;(iii) the Print Culture.

Christian Missionaries are regarded as the first agents of modernity in India. They introduced the printing press in India.[168] They adopted modern technologies for disseminating Christianity.

[167] Joseph R. Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced polarities in the Study of Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology*, 72, 4, (Jan,. 1967): 351.

[168] Bari Aleeg, *Company Ki Hakomat (Government of the Company)*, (Lahore: Nia Edara, 1937), 417. The newspaper, Samachar Darin, was the first of its kind in Bengali language, started by Christian missionaries of Serampur, during the year 1818. While according to Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia the name of the first newspaper was "Friends of India" that was issued from Serampur under the patronage of Christian missionaries. Abdullah Yousaf Ali in his book *Hindustani Akhbar Navisi (Indian Newspaper-writing)* claims that first printing press in UP was set up in Kanpur in 1822. So the Christian missionaries were the first who introduced the modern tools of communication to the Indian people. Also see Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia, (Lahore: Ghulam Ali and Sons, 2004), 744. See also Muhammad Atiq, *Hindustani Akhbar* (n.d), 228.

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establishment of Evangelical Mission at Serampur near Calcutta in 1793. William Ward was made in-charge of the mission. The missionaries also translated Bible into the Bengali language.[169] Soon after the annexation of Delhi in 1803, the missionaries became active in the heartland of India (Gangetic Region).[170]

Table: 1.2 The Establishment of Christian Missions in Punjab between 1834 and 1889

Name of the Mission	Year of Establishment	Place
Presbyterian Church of United States of America[171]	1834	Ludhiana on November 5, 1834, under John Lowrie. It opened an Anglo-Vernacular School for modern education.[172]
The Jullundur American Presbyterian Mission[173]	1847	Jullundur
Church Mission Society	1852	Lahore and Amritsar
Church of Scotland Mission	1856	Sialkot[174], Daska[175][1857], Wazirabad[1863][176]
Church of England Mission	1859	Narowal
Roman Catholic Mission	1889	Sialkot

Source: Ian Talbot, *India and Pakistan*, 61. Gazetteer of the Jullundur District, 1904, 134. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Punjab, Vol.1, 52-53. Gazetteer of the Sialkot District, 1894-95, 69. Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District 1893-94, 49. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 22, 330.

Table 1.2 highlights that how the Christian missions had been established in colonial Punjab in an organized fashion. It also shows that they did not belong to any specific sect of Christianity. Nevertheless; the people took their activities as interference in their religious affairs.

Mubarak Ali, a scholar of Medieval India, in one of his work wrote that the missionaries not only had sufficient smattering of knowledge of Islam and other Indian religions but they were disciplined, organized and enjoyed the support of the government. They deployed the agency of print culture effectively and published a number of books, pamphlets, and monographs in which they made skillful use of polemics. They got the religious literature distributed among the locals, free of charge for proselytizing Christianity.[177] All these factors arouse the concerns of the religious

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[169] Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia, 416.
[170] Avril Anon Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (Richmond: Curson Press, 1993), 47. The term Gangetic was used by Kenneth W. Jones and Avril Powell for the region around Delhi where Muslim-Christian missionaries religious encounter took place.
[171] It opened an Anglo-Vernacular School for modern education.
[172] Gazetteer of the Jullundur District, 1904,134.
[173] It opened an Anglo Vernacular School for modern education.
[174] Gazetteer of the Sialkot District, 1894-95, 69.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District 1893-94, 49.
[177] Mubarak Ali, *The Ulama, Sufis and Intellectuals* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996), 113.

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socio-educational reform movements.

Peter van der Veer, a scholar of religion and politics in South Asia, argued modernity set in motion the process that created awareness among the religious communities that they started thinking themselves as distinct religious categories and led to the emergence of nationalism as an ideology.[178] T. K. Oommen, while commenting on the overall impact of religious missionaries, wrote that they were able to draw the attention of the British policymakers to the desirability of adopting the western religion and culture in India to the extent that the latter began to believe that without adopting Christian values the native could not make any progress.[179]

Education acted as one of the most patent agency of modernity. Ikram Ali Malik, a scholar of colonial Punjab, has divided the modern educational institutions that were established in Punjab since 1857 into three categories. The first comprised the educational institution that the British had established that imparted the primary, secondary and higher education.[180] The second consisted of the institutions that the Christian missionaries had opened.[181] Malik lists the institutions established by rulers of the princely states and other socio-educational reform movements in the third category.[182]

It would be relevant to provide a brief overview of the development of education between 1800 and 1857 as this paragraph shows that the British laid the foundations of the modern education system in India. Initially, they established educational institutions for developing, standardizing and promoting local languages. Fort William College Calcutta (est.1800) was meant to serve the purpose. The civil servants had to get a compulsory education at the College before joining jobs.[183] The Charter Act of 1813 laid the foundations of the modern education system in India. But the educational institutions

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[178] Peter van der Veer, "Transnational Religion," Paper presented at the Conference on Transnational Migration: Comparative Perspectives, Princeton University on 30 June-1 July 2001.

[179] T.K Oommen and Hunter P. Mabry, *The Christian Clergy in India*, 2 Vols. (New Delhi: Saga publications, 2000), 1: 47.

[180] Most notable among these were; Government College Lahore established in the year1864, Punjab University Lahore in 1882, Municipal Board College Amritsar in1888.

[181] These included; Forman Christian College Lahore established in the year1866, Scotch Mission College Sialkot in1889.

[182] These included; Muhindra College Patiala established in the year 1880, Sadiq Ejertin College Bahawalpur in 1882, Randher College Kapur Thala in1896, Dyanand Anglo Vedic College Lahore in1888, Islamia College Lahore in1892, Khalsa College Amritsar in1896. See Ghulam Hussain Zulfiqar, *Jido jihd-i-Azadi Mein Punjab ka Kirdar* (Lahore: Edara-i-Tahqiqat-iPakistan, 1996), 93.

[183] Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History Of India* (Edingurgh: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 55-59.

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lower rungs of the jobs in the government and private sectors[184]. The Delhi College (est.1828) was opened with the objective of providing modern education. In 1835 the British made English the official language as the latter replaced Persian. It was also introduced as the medium of instruction. The Educational Minutes of Lord Macaulay (1835) and Wood Dispatch (1854), were the two significant developments that shaped the future course of education in India.[185] The establishment of Universities of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay further attests to the expanding scope of education.[186] The period between 1860's and 1890's saw the establishment of a number of colonial educational institutions in Lahore that included the Government College Lahore (1864), the Forman Christian College (1866), and the Aitchison College Lahore (1886)[187].

The British authorities used education for a number of purposes. One of the main objectives of the British Government was to promote modern ideas among the locals.[188] Western education became an instrument of spreading the influences of rationality.[189] Cumulatively, education influenced the "way of thinking of locals." I subscribe to the view Maitrayee Chaudhuri, a sociologist of the social systems, who construed modern India as the "product of the western education in colonial context."[190] Veena Naregal, a scholar of colonial India wrote that colonial education "transformed both the universe of ideas and the structures of cultural exchange and social communication."[191] While summing up the debate we can say that colonial education ideologically influenced the way of thinking

Now we move on from education to the Print Culture.The work of Mufti Intazam Ullah Shahabani, *East India Company Aur Baghi Ulamā* shows how the Christian

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[184] M. Iqbal, *Education in Pakistan* (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1977), 34-39.
[185] Minutes of Thomas Macaulay, 2 February. 1835.
[186] T. K. Derry, *British History From 1760 to 1964*, (London: G. Bell& Sons Ltd, 1965), 191. Also see Veena Naregal, *Language, Politics, Elites and Public Sphere*, 55.
[187] Lord Macauilay while sexplaining the underlying motive of the the motive of modern educatcation stated in Febrauary 1835 that was meant "to create a class of locals that should be Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect", Veena Naregal, *Language, Politics, Elites and Public Sphere*, 58.
[188] The British Liberals thought of "bringing" the Indians "out of despotism, priest-craft, and superstition",
[189] Veena Naregal points out that the western education brought vast changes into the minds of the people via discipline of philosophy.
[190] Maitrayee Chaudhuri, "Indian Modernity and Tradition: A Gender Perspective" *Polish Sociological Review,* 178, 2,(2012):279.
[191] Veena Naregal, *Language, Politics, Elites and Public Sphere*, 58.

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presses were established at Mirzapur and Agra.[192] In 1835 the American Presbyterian mission established a wooden press, the first of its kind in Punjab and through which it became the hugely influential center of the production of the missionary literature. Besides carrying out extensive translations work it produced a dictionary of Punjabi language. It also launched a weekly newspaper in Punjabi called *Nur Afshan*.[193]

Thus, the expansion of print capitalism in Punjab ushered in a new era of religious debate. I agree with the contention of Francis Robinson that "Print came to be the main forum in which religious polemical debates were launched".[194] Print capitalism along with modern education played a crucial role in the establishment of new religious sects in the Indian environment, opines Pnina Werbner.[195] Hence the modernity, which was the cultural product of the West, exerted profound influences on the socio-religious ethos of Indians. Barbara Metcalf, a scholar of religion and politics in South Asia, is of the view that the impact of British rule on Hindu and Muslim religious ethos became more ubiquitous after 1800.[196]

1.3 The Response of Indian Religious Communities to Modernity

The previous section provided an overview of the advent of modernity and showed that how the agencies like colonial missionaries, the introduction of the modern education system in India and print culture proved effective carriers of modernity in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Let us move on to the responses of Indian religious communities to modernity. The two sub-sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2 examine the responses of Hindu and Muslim communities to modernity.

1.3.1 The Response of Hindu Community to Modernity

This sub-section looks at the response of the Hindu religious community towards modernity. The work of Bipan Chandra [1987][197] shows that during the first phase of the British rule (1757—1813) the British did not interfere in the religious

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[192] Mufti Intazam Ullah Shahabani, *East India Company Aur Baghi Ulama (East India Company and Mutineer Ulamā)*, (Lahore: Maktab Rizwan, 1989), 71-72.
[193] Ian Talbot, *India and Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 61.
[194] Francis Robinson," "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the impact of Print," *Modern Asian Studies* 27, no.1 (Feb., 1993): 233.
[195] Pnina Werbner, "The Making of Muslim Dissent: Hybridized Discourses, Lay Preachers and Radical Rhetoric among British Pakistanis," *American Ethnologist* 23, no.1 (Feb., 1996): 111.
[196] Trevor Ling, *A History of Religion East and West* (London: Macmillan, 1968), 335.
[197] Bipan Chandra, *India's Struggle for Independence* (Delhi: Penguin Books, 1989).

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administrators of the East India Company had begun to patronize Christianity since 1790's, however, it was not until the introduction of the Charter Act of 1813 the British government had provided the Christian missionaries official and unobtrusive entry into India. Sharif-al-Mujahid, a scholar of Muslim politics and History in the sub-continent, in one of his work *The Ideology of Pakistan* has pointed out quite rightly that initially, the British did not meddle into the religious affairs of India. However, when they optted the policy, it posed "a cultural challenge" to Indian religious communities. And the cultural challenge was first directed against the Hindus.[198]

Before explaining the kind of cultural challenge that the Hindu community had to respond, it would be relevant to briefly allude the theme that how the British viewed Hinduism.[199] The British used the word "Hinduism" frequently in the eighteenth century in the mid of British expansion in India.The British considered "Hinduism" as a unified tradition that prevailed before the advent of British rule in India. Insipte of the fact that the adherents of Vedantic traditions had been divided into various sects and communities.However, some of the western scholars began to question that whether Hinduism embodied an unbroken tradition?For instance, the article of Richard King, "Orientalism and Modern Myth of Hinduism" asserts quite emphatically that there was no Hinduism (Hindu religion) before modern times.[200] But on the other hand, one finds that the protagonists of Hinduism reject such views and argue that Hinduism remained an age-old and long-established tradition, which embodied the principles of caste, had its canonical texts and distinct theological beliefs as well as a code of practices including pilgrimage and the celebration of festivals which had evolved over centuries.[201]

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[198] Sharif-al-Mujahid, *The Ideology of Pakistan* (Islamabad: International Islamic University, 2001).

[199] Hinduism was marked by diverse beliefs, practices, and organizational structures as well as multiple chains of authority. Hinduism is one of the largest and oldest religious traditions in the world. Hinduism can be spoken of both as one umbrella category or as several traditions, and the larger Hindu culture encompasses not just beliefs and texts but also practices.

[200] Richard King , "Orientalism and Modern Myth of Hinduism," *NUME,* 46, no. 2 (1999), 156. Also See David Smith, *Hinduism and Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 4-7. Also See Syed Hussain Shaheed Suherwardi, "Hinduism: A Western Construction or an Influence?" *South Asian Studies* 26, no.1 (Jan-June, 2011), 203. See Richard King, "Orientalism and Modern Myth of Hinduism," 156.

[201] Thomas Riggs (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religious Practices* (New York: Thomson and Gale, 2006), 301.

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perception of the Hindu religion as they began to not only to project it as an unbroken tradition but also started taking a reified view of religion. The works of Thomas Metcalf [1995][202], Eric Stokes [1959][203] and Sekhar [2004][204] show how ideological influences on British administrators affected the nature and direction of the policies of the colonial administrators. Thus, we find that the policies of the British administrators between the 1820's and 1840's were mostly influenced by the Utilitarian ideology. This reformist zeal led to the reform initiatives like Abolition of *Sati* (1829) and ban on early child marriages (1832).[205] Quite naturally these interventions sparked a storm of controversies among the traditionalists.As we noted in the previous sections how the Indians were faced with the challenge of the prosletyzing activities of the Christain missionaries. Cumulatively all these factors generated a response of Hindu religious reform movements. This sub-section focuses on three of such distinct responses, which include:(i) Brahmo Samaj(1828);(ii) Prathna Samaj(1867), and;(iii) Arya Samaj(1875).

The Brahmo Samaj (Divine society) was founded by Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), a Bengali Brahman, on 20 August 1828. It fully embraced the ideals as well as the process of cultural change that modernity had initiated. Let's begin with a brief biographical sketch of Ram Mohan Roy that would reveal the kind of formative influences that conditioned the birth of the movement. Roy was educated in Calcutta and one of his early teachers promoted in his mind free thought about the religion. He studied English and other European languages as well as Sanskrit and Persian. Right from his adolescence began to believe that religion should be synthesized with science. In short, he began to question the orthodox beliefs of the Hindu religion. He earned a severe reprimand from his father who died in 1803.[206] In the same period, he began to study *Vedantic* monism. He published his religious views in a Persian tract named *Tohfat al-Mawahhiddin* (A Gift to monotheists) in 1804. He got government

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[202] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[203] Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).
[204] Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India* (New Dehi:Orient Longman, 2004).
[205] *Sati* denotes the religious custom of Hindus of burning a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband
[206] This was the same period when the work of James Mill on India-- *The History of British India* was published. Western observers from missionaries to civilians attacked the position of women in Hinduism. This gender question was a key issue for James Mill condemning Indian civilization in his work.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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an early retirement from the government service in 1814. Nevertheless, his exposure to the government services further drew him into the colonial milieu. He settled in Calcutta in 1815 and came under the influence of Christian Unitarianism.[207]

Before launching Brahmo Samaj, Roy established Atmiya Sabha (Friendly Association) in 1815 in Calcutta. It provided a forum for theological debates.[208] Roy was deeply moved by an incident of *Sati* that had happened in his family in 1818 that involved *Sati* one of his close relatives. This incident prompted him to publish a book entitled as *A Conference between an Advocate for and Opponent of the Practice of Burning Widows Alive* in the same year. In this work, he cited references from *Vedas* to prove that Hindu Law did not sanction *sati*, rather it was the outcome of later accretions. In Hinduism. Hindu Law and it was an example of degenerate Hinduism. Orthodox Hindus voiced strong criticism of his views on *sati*. On the other hand, the Christian missionaries supported him on the issue. He continued to raise women issues in the 1820's. He remained a powerful advocate of women rights especially the need for women's education.[209] He also tried to create awareness about the widow re-marriage, which was strongly forbidden by the Hindu custom.[210]

As noted earlier Brahmo Samaj was established in 1828. Brahmo Samaj was profoundly influenced by the ideological orientation of its founder. One of the cardinal features of Samaj's teaching was the concept of monism. Roy lamented that the idea of monism was lost over the centuries on account of corrupting influence of Brahman priests.[211] He also translated the *Upanishads* into Bangla language to prove that Hindu scriptures establish the reality of monotheism.[212] It would be wrong to assume that Roy adhered to the modernist ideas blindly. While contesting the missionaries' claim of superiority of Christianity he pointed to the flaws in the Christian beliefs like superstition and error.

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[207] H. H. Dodwell, "Political Activities From Lord William Bentinck's Educational Policy (1832) to the Birth of Congress Party (1884)" in *Political India*, ed. John Cumming (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 24.
[208] J. N. Pankratz, "The Response of the Brahmo Samaj" in *Modern Indian Responses to Religious Pluralism,ed.* Harold G. Coward , (New York: State University of New York Press, 1987), 20.
[209] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India: The New Cambridge History of India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 31.
[210] Dodwell, "Political Activities," 30.
[211] Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements,* 31.
[212] J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York: Macmillan company, 1919), 32-33.

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its original form as enshrined in the *Vedanta* texts. If its absurdities were removed what remained was a simple code of religion and morality, he emphasized. He also attempted to make his arguments purposeful on the basis of reason and social utility. For him, religion could not be judged exclusively on its own internal scriptural evidence, but it would also be measured by the criteria of reason and presented before the people as free of contradictions.[213]

The campaign Roy launched for abolishing *sati*, coupled with the Brtish agenda of the introduction of social reforms in India led to the imposition of official ban on sati during the viceroyalty of William Bentinck.[214] This was challenged by the orthodox Hindus and the matter was placed before the Privy Council. Roy had to visit London for providing evidence in this case. While he was on this tour, he passed away in England in1833.

Orthodox Hindus founded *Hindu Dharma Sabha* in 1830 to condemn Roy's religious ideas. They made use of new avenues of dissemination of ideologies that modernrnity had laid open like the technology of print to counter Brahmo Samaj.[215] Roy's criticism of idolatry and polytheism, Brahman priests and their rituals paved the way of reconstructing Hinduism. Many of them who involved in this Sabha was closely linked with the English Government.

After the death of Ram Mohan Roy, Brahmo Samaj was revived by Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905). He also was a Brahman and his family worked for the Muslim rulers of Bengal and also became associated with the British. He accepted *Vedas* as Roy had but he emphasized the superiority of Hinduism. He along with a number of his friends joined Brahmo Samaj in 1842. He started publication of a newspaper named *Tattvabodhini Patrika* in 1843 which became a forum for religious discussion. In 1850 he released a volume of scriptures *the Brahma dharma* for worship purpose. Under his leadership Brahmo Samaj began to spread out of Calcutta to the Eastern Bengal. During the decades of 1850 and 1860, many young Bengalis were attracted to the Brahmo Samaj.[216]

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[213] J. N. Pankratz, "Ram Mohan Roy" in Robert D. Baird (ed.), *Religion in Modern India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1981), 165-7.
[214] Ali Muhammad Shaheen, *Pak-o-Hind ki Dastori Tareek* (Urdu)(Karachi: Maktaba Fareedi, 1994), 36.
[215] Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements,* 32.
[216] Ibid., 34.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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Brahmo Samaj. Sen's disciples increased during the 1860s. He established Sanjat Sabhas (discussion groups). He raised voice against the caste system, espoused the rights of women and supported remarriage of widows. He and his followers encouraged inter-caste marriage and widow re-marriage publically in 1864.[217]

This radicalism created schisms in the Brahmo Samaj. Sen in August 1866 he established the Brahmo Samaj of India.[218] On the other hand the followers of Tagore faction began to call themselves the Adi (original) Brahmo Samaj. The crisis between the two factions of Samaj deepened when Brahmo Marriage Act 1872 was passed. The Act aimed to legalize Brahmo marriages with the purpose of allowing inter-caste and widow marriages. Over time Sen himself retreated from his radicalism and came closer to Hindu ascetic Ramakrishna Paramahansa.[219] This gradually led to another rift in the Brahmo Samaj in 1878. In 1881 Sen formed Naba Bidhan (new dispensation) and started moving towards a new Universalist religion. But now at this stage Brahmo Samaj was weakened and was confined to a little elite group.[220]

In 1863 a few Bengalis and Punjabis founded the Lahore Brahmo Samaj that was insipred by the leadership of Babu Novin Chandra Roy, a Bengali, who had worked as an employee in the North-Western Railways in Lahore. He wrote extensively as an advocate of socially radical Brahmonism, fought for increased use of Hindi, and succeeded in recruiting new members among Bengalis and Punjabis. The Lahore Brahmo Samaj visits from leading Bengalis Brahmos activists to Lahore provided renewed impetus to the movement. Keshab Chandra Sen spoke in Lahore in 1867 and 1873, Debendranath Tagore in 1867, 1872 and 1874, and Protap Chandra Majumdar in 1871.[221]

Prarthana Samaj

On the line of Brahmo Samaj, a movement named Prarthana Samaj (Prayer Society) was launched in 1867 by Atmaram Pandurang (1823-1898) in Bombay and Maharashtra with the help of Keshab Chander Sen. This movement aimed at religious and social reform.

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[217] Pradip Sinha, *Nineteenth Century Bengal* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965), 121.
[218] In 1866 Sen went on a tour of Madras and Bombay where he propagated Brahmo Samaj ideology among the English-educated elite
[219] Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements,*41-43.
[220] A. P. Sen , *Hindu Revivalism in Bengal 1872-1905* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), 46.
[221] Kenneth W. Jones, *Arya Dharam: Hindu Consciousness in 19th-Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 16.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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distinction from Brahmo Samaj of Bengal remaining attached with Hinduism.[222] The movement did not aim at breaking with the past. It accepted modernization within the cultural space of tradition, without signaling a major break.[223] Its emphasis on moderation made it more acceptable to a comparatively larger segment of the Hindu society.

Soon it opened several branches in different parts of Bombay and Maharashtra. Most notable among them were at Poona, Surat, Ahmadabad, Karachi, Kirkee, Kolhapur, and Satara. By the beginning of the twentieth century, there were about eighteen branches in Madras. In 1875 Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83) visited Gujrat and Maharashtra and launched a new movement named Arya Samaj. As a result of the rival movement, Prarthana Samaj lost its vitality.

Arya Samaj

Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in 1875 in Bombay. Dayanand was born in Tankara (Gujrat) in a Brahman family. He received early education in his home by the local teacher. He studies religious texts and Sanskrit in preparation for his life as an orthodox Shaivite. He fled from his home in the search for releasing from rebirth. He remained under the discipleship of Swami Virajananda for three years (from 1860 to 1863). Here his life changed and began to preach a pure Hindu religion.[224] Dayanand fully utilized the discourse of reason and claimed that only the Vedas contained scientific truths. On the basis of these claims, he sought that Hinduism was superior to Christianity and Islam.[225]

These were the set of reforms the western reformers were supporters. Van der Veer highlights the role of Western Orientalists in the rise of Hindu revivalist movements. He construes Hinduism as a 'religion of book' like Christianity and Islam.[226]

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[222] Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: the Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 66-7.
[223] C.H. Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 108.
[224] Jones,*Socio-Religious Reform Movements*, 96.
[225] Gyan Parkash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 93-94.
[226] Peter Van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (London: University of California Press, 1994), 65.

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Hinduism. He thought that the Hinduism would be restored in its pure form and that all post-Vedic additions must be removed. He rejected the popular Puranas, polytheism and idolatry, the role of Brahman priests and child marriage. He further denounced pilgrimages and rituals, untouchability and caste-system, and a ban on widow marriage. He was a staunch propagator of women education and inter-caste marriages.[227]

The revivalist movement that Dayanand had launched found enthusiastic support in Punjab and Northern India. The opening of Arya Samaj's branch in Lahore in 1877 had a profound impact on communal harmony. Punjab proved to be a fertile land for the dissemination of the ideology of the Samaj. At the time of his death in 1883, the movement had become popular in the region and its branches had sprouted throughout the North Western Province and Punjab. Over time, the movement became more and more aggressive. The moderate members of the Samaj who focused on education and other community work were marginalized after 1893. The rival group launched a militant campaign under the leadership of Pandit Guru Dutt and Lekh Ram. It preached the religion of Vedas, attacked the Muslims and converting those who accepted Christianity, Sikhism or Islam through *shuddhi* (a form of traditional purification ceremony- to reconvert Hindus from Christianity and Islam). Since the 1890s the Arya Samaj mostly turned towards the cow-protection movement pushing back the areas of reformism to the nature of revivalism. With this, the communal conflict arose and it gave way to communal violence on large scale.[228]

These Hindu reform movements attempted to bring social and religious changes in the prevailing Hindu customs. It reflected the desire to create harmony with the rationality of the West.

1.3.2 The Response of Muslim Religious Communities to Modernity

How did the Muslim respond to the advent of Modernity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? To find the answer to this question we have to analyze the responses of the Muslim community in either in favour or against modernity. This encounter of Muslim community with modernity produced a number of responses. One response came from the Aligarh movement that Syed Ahmed Khan (1817—

[227] Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, 155.
[228] Ibid.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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movement alike Deoband and *Ahl-i-Hadith* though on the surface rejected Modernity and held serious reservations about it. They tried to preserve the ethos of religion in the mid of onslaught of Modernity. However, by doing so they also embraced ceratin traits of the latter. Another reaction came from Nadvah-tul- Ulamā Lucknow, which aimed to create a workable synthesis between modernity and tradition.[229]

<u>Aligarh Movement: The Progenitor of Isamic Modernism in India</u>

Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan[230] was the central figure of Aligarh movement who was born in 1817 in Delhi. His family had a deep relationship with the Mughal court. His father, Mir Mutaqi was a Mughal aristocrat. He was a follower of famous Sufi Shah Ghulam Ali Delhi (1743-1824).[231] Sir Sayed received traditional education and against the wishes of his family, he attached with English East India Company in 1838 as a *Sarishtadar* (court clerk). With the passages of time, he constantly received promotion and reached the post of sub-judge in 1857, his services for the company brought him direct contact with the European civilization.

Before the War of independence (1857), he was deeply impressed by the movement of puritanical reform that Shah Wali Ullah had launched. He hailed from a traditional family and later got inspiration from modern science. Sir Sayed was supremely conscious of the fact that new challenges of modernity could only be met by re-definition of Islam on the lines of modern science.[232] Sayed Ahmd Khan was the first among the Indian Muslims who was influenced by Darwin's theory 'The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection'. He tried to conciliate this theory with the Islamic concept of the creation of Adam. Sayed Ahmed Khan was deeply impressed by the western scientists especially Newton (1643-1727) and Darwin (1809-1882). Newton defined the natural phenomenon in terms of mathematical form.[233]

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[229] Aydin Bayram," Modernity and the Fragmentation of the Muslim Community in Response: Mapping Modernist, Reformist and Traditionalist Responces," *Ankara Universitesi Ilahiyat Fakultesi Dergisi* 55, no.1 (2014), 71.

[230] Sir Sayed Ahmad khan was at the same time a refomer, educationist, modernist, and outstanding political leader of the Muslims of India. He was author of a number of books including commentaries on Quran and Bible.

[231] Sayed Ahmad Khan, *Sirat-i-Faridiyyah* (Lahore: n.d, 1964), 22.

[232] Aslam, "Islamic Modernism," 343.

[233] Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernism in India and Pakistan* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1980), 274-75.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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Quran. He saw no contradiction between religion and science. In reality, he understood the Islam was modern progress and modern progress was Islam. But why the Muslim had resulted in decadence? He maintained that they had rejected education in the truths of science. They had wrongly believed that the 'laws of science' indeed of 'progress' contradicted the system that God had created.[234] He contended that God is responsible for the laws of nature. He furthered that the Quran is the 'Word of God' and the 'laws of nature' is the 'Work of God'. He cleared that there could never be a conflict between these two.[235] Syed Ahmad Khan while revisiting his previuous ideas about religion tried to extrapolate the Newtonian view of nature to religion. [236] He espoused the ideal that 'The Quran would be in our right hand, modern science in the left, and the crown of Kalma ["there is no God but Allah"]on the head'.

He adopted a rational approach to the miracles of the Prophets, revelation and the existence of angels.[237] Aziz Ahmad in his book titled *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* stated that Sir Sayed 'arrived at fifty-two points of divergence from the traditionally accepted Sunni Islam'.[238]

Syed Ahmad Khan initiated a number of reforms that showed the way for Muslims to reconcile with modernity through reforms in political, educational, religious and social domains.[239] Sayed launched his programme of promoting modern education. He organized the Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among Muslims of India in 1870. The principal objectives of this Committee were: (1) to find the reasons that why the Muslims were discarding the study of western sciences; (2) why were they not taking benefits of educational opportunities provided by the British Government and (3) to suggest the remedies to remove the hurdles in bringing the Muslims to study the modern education.[240] The

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[234] Ibid., 93.
[235] Ibid., 99.
[236] Muhammad Aslam, "Islamic Modernism," in *Islam in South Asia,* ed. Waheed-uz-Zamam and M. Saleem Akhtar (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), 342-3.
[237] Aziz Ahmad, *Barray Sagheer mein Islami Jadidiat,* 76-77. Also See Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1970), 57.
[238] Aziz Ahmad, *Barray Sagheer mein Islami Jadidiat,* 76-77. Also See Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture*, 57.
[239] Malik, *Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan and Muslim Modernism*, 21.
[240] Ibid., 126.

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society. Another aim of the founder of Aligarh was to form an institution that could enable Muslims to come to terms with the British-created world.[241]

Sayed Ahmed Khan established Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1877 by foolowing the model of Cambridge. [242] This institution not only served the Muslim in acquiring modern education but also in the worlds of David Lelyveld was a "profound political enterprise".[243] The reality was that it developed among the Muslim a sense of belonging to a separate *qaum* (nation).

David Lelyveld in his book *Aligarh's First Generation* describes him that he was the reconciler of the Muslim elite to western things, the starting point of modern Urdu historiography, and the founder of Muslim separatism.[244] Sir Sayed also published *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* a journal whose purpose was to promote the views on several issues, and the main among them was to popularize the western style of life.

Opposition to his religious sentiments was strong from traditional circles of the Muslims. He used to publish his religious ideas in *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*.[245] However, Sir Sayed was not universally accepted in the Muslim community. The traditional Ulamā reacted against his westernization. In spite of this, his influences on the Indian Muslims were countless. Because of these sentiments about religious convictions, he was termed as *Nechari* (the naturist).

Deoband and *Ahl-i-Hadith* as Transmitters of Traditional Response

The Ulamā represented the traditional Islamic society which flourished before the advent of modernity.[246] For me, modernity means a radical re-questioning of traditions and understanding of religion. The Muslim Ulamā had been slow in reconciling to the British rule and modernity openly. The reason might be that until the end of eighteenth-century penal justice in Bengal continued according to the *Fatawā*-i-Alamgiri.[247]

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[241] Hardy, *The Muslim of British India*, 103-4.
[242] Hardy, *The Muslim of British India,* 103.
[243] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 317.
[244] David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978)
[245] Hardy, *The Muslim of British India,* 103.
[246] Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims,* 27.
[247] *Fatawā*-i-Alamgiri, a book of Sunni code of fiqh was compiled under the patronage of Aurangzeb Alamgir. This compilation was based on Sunni Hanafi's law, and was the work of many scholars from the Hanafi school including a prominent scholar Shah Abdul rahim, the father of Shah Waliullah.

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One response against the British rule came from the followers of Shah Wali Ullah. On the responses against the intrusion of modrnity in the matters of *shariah*, a leading scholar of Delhi Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824), son of Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) protested and declared the areas of North India under the British domination as *dar al-harb* (the adobe of war).[248] Sayed Ahmad (1786-1831) declared *Jihad* against Sikhs of Punjab. Haji Shariat Ullah (1781-1840) founded Faraizi Movement in Bengal in 1821. He did not preach *Jihad* against the British and laid stress on the religious purification. But his son Dudu Mian (1819-62) turned to social and political militancy.[249] The religious and social activism of Dudu and also of Titu Mir in Bengal resulted in a social and economic conflict assuming a communal guise.[250]

In those days there were three great centers of Islamic learning—Firangi Mahal Lucknow (special in the teachings of *fiqh*), Khairabad (specialty in rational sciences) and Delhi (center for the study of Quran and Hadith). All of them followed Dars-i-Nizami (syllabus introduced by Mulla Nizam-ud-Din in the early of the eighteenth century).

Deoband espoused the ideology of Shah Waliullhah in religious affairs and Sayed Ahmad in the political relam (political affairs) to sustain in the changed situation of post-1857. The exponents of the movement concluded that the salvation of the Indian degraded Muslims lay in turning towards the pristine originality of Islam and following the path of the Quran and *Sunnah* of the Holy Prophet.

There was a dire need for the establishment of a big *madrasa* since the post 1857 era. The reason was that the doors of traditional Muslim education were closed by the new colonial educational policy. At the same time, the forceful campaign of the Christian missionaries was in full swing which was a serious threat to Islam in India.

In 1867 Haji Abid Hussain thought of establishing a *madrasa* in a small mosque in Deoband in district Saharanpur (UP). He was received warmth assistance by Maulvi Mahtab Ali. The foundation ceremony was performed by Muhammad

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248 Shah Abdul Aziz, *Fatawā-i-Azizi,* Vol.1, (Delhi: 1894), 17.
249 Hardy, *The Muslims of British India, 55-56.*
250 Ibid., 59.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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Madrassah. Kenneth Jones reckons that he wanted their school to be a separate institution and not merely an appendage to the local mosque.[252] For this purpose, he got a plot of land outside the town of Deoband. In 1876 the foundation of the new building separate from the old mosque was laid by Ahmad Ali Saharanpuri a renowned scholar of Hadith literature.[253]

Deoband *Madrasa* began instruction in the Chatta Masjid at Deoband. Muhammad Qasim Nanautvi (1833-80) and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (1829-1905) were the founders of the seminary. Both were remained a private student at Delhi College and learned the western style of education which they later employed at their own constructed Deoband *Madrasa*.

Instead of sriving for creating a balance between the *manqulat* (traditional sources such as the Quran, Hadith, and fiqh) and *maqulat* (rational sciences), the movement placed more emphasis on the *manqulat*. This syllabus showed that the branches of modern knowledge such as modern philosophy, science, and history were excluded. They thought that in that period these subjects were studied in modern institutions whereas the traditional subjects were absent. The founders of Deoband thought it better that it was the need of the time to focus on *manqulat* rather than *maqulat*.[254] They attempted to preserve the traditional scholarship of Islam. The shift in focus became more conspicuous when Rashid Gangahoi assumed the helm of the institution. In the years of Qasim Nanautvi, certain elements of Aristotelian logic and philosophy were introduced at Deoband. But when Rashid Ahmad Gangohi held the post of *Muhtamim* (Chief Executive) of the *madrasa* in 1880, he discarded these sciences and maintained these subjects as useless.[255] This seminary trained Ulamā from different parts of India in scriptural Islam.

A distinguishing characteristic of the *madarsah* was that it did not rely on grant-in-aid from the government and was based only on public contributions. Qasim

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[251] Barbara D. Metcalf, "The Madrasa at Deoband: A Model for Religious Education in Modern India," *Modern South Asian Studies* 12, no.1 (1978), 112.
[252] Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements*, 58.
[253] Board of Editors, *A History of Freedom Movement* 4.Vols. (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1963), 2:416.
[254] Aziz Ahmad, *Barray Sagheer mein Islami Jadidiat* (tran. in Urdu by Jamil Jalbi), (Lahore: Edara-i-Saqafat-i-Islamiya, 1989), 159.
[255] Ibid., 21.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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flourishing of the *madrasa*. To meet the expenses voluntary contributions were collected from the poor workers.[256] Those who performed the duty of collecting donations and gifts popularized the cause of Muslim religious education and also the individual responsibility laid on every Muslims. This also gave it the status of the movement.[257]

The founders of the institution introduced the British Bureaucratic style of organizing as they had been trained in the Delhi College. Unlike the other Islamic seminaries in Delhi and other parts of India, Deoband constituted a managing body and *Muhtamim* (Chief Executive). The existing religious schools were still run by the individual or a family patronage. The new system of bureaucratic management proved highly beneficial to the madra. It also brought stability to the seminary. The *madrasa* arranged the classroom system of instruction and also built a central library. There was not any central library in the prevailing Muslim religious institutions. The annual reports of the institution were published which made itself an innovation. Annual examination system was launched and certificates after the completion of due courses were awarded to the students.[258] It was run by a professional staff and the students were enrolled in the specific course of study. Staff at the school consisted on the basis of departments. There were teaching staff, administrative staff, and a consultative council.[259]

As a result of the encounter with Christian missionaries, the ulamā of Deoband learned new ways to engage in the polemical debates. The Ulamā of the seminary also made use of new technologies of communication such as postal service, money orders, and even printing press.[260] The work of Barbara Metcalf shows that Ulamā of Deoband was first to capitalize on the potentialities of the printing press.[261]

Deoband had discarded saintly intercession (*istimadād*) and declared it as *shirāk* (polytheism). This was a shift from other-worldly Islam to this-worldly.

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[256] M. S Agwani estimated that eighty percent of the donors were belonged to urban centers in the different parts of the country. The peasantry around Deoband accounted the rest of the expenses.
[257] Manazar Ahsan Gilani, *Sawanih Qasmi* 2 Vols. (Delhi: 1956), 1:220.
[258] Metcalf, "The Madrasa at Deoband," 112.
[259] Ibid., 113.
[260] Ibid., 114.
[261] Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revivalism in British India: Deoband 1860-1900* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 46-49.

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Deoband also laid emphasis on the widow-marriage and women's right of inheritance. It stressed on stoppage of ceremonies associated with marriages and also *urs* ceremonies of Sufi saints simultaneously.[263]

Deoband had a profound impact on *madrasa* eductioin. It trained Imam Masjid (Prayer teachers), writers, *manazars* (preachers), and teachers who disseminated its ideology to different areas of the subcontinent.[264] Within a few years after its establishment, a new *madrasa* named Mazahir-ul-Uloom at Saharanpur was opened in the style of Deoband. The Muslim madaris while following the vision of Qasim Nanautvi, began to establish a network of madaris and affiliating schools throughout the United Provinces.[265]

Nadvah-tul-Ulamā as Synthesis of Aligarh and Deoband

These Ulamā were influenced by western knowledge. It was attended by the Ulamā of almost every sect of Indian Muslims. Deobandi, Barelvi, *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Shia Ulamā were present at the conference. Besides the Hanafi Ulamā[266], Maulana Ibrahim Arvi, Muhammad Hussain Batalvi from the *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Maulana Ghulam-ul-Hussain from the Shia Mujtahids also participated in the conference. It was presided over by a renowned scholar of Hanafi school of thought, Maulana Lutfullah of Aligarh.[267]

The Ulamā associated with Nadva also traced their linkages with the movement of Shah Waliullah. One of its renowned scholars was Mufti Inayat Ahmad Kakori who studied under a leading scholar Bazurg Ali. Bazurg Ali was a pupil of Shah Muhammad Ishaq, the maternal grandson of Shah Abdul Aziz (the elder son of Shah Waliullah). Similarly, another founding father of the movement was Fazl-ur-Rehman of Ganj Muradabad was a direct disciple of Shah Muhammad Ishaq.[268]

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[262] Werbner, "The Making of Muslim Dissent," 106.
[263] Board of Editors, *A History of Freedom Movement*, 422.
[264] Metcalf, "The Madrasa at Deoband," 117.
[265] M. S. Agwani. *Islamic Fundamentalism in India* (Chandigarh: Twenty-first Century India Society, 1986), 18-19.
[266] Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi, Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan and Maulna Khalil Ahmad Saharanpuri.
[267] Boards of Editors, A *History of Freedom Movement*, 425.
[268] Ibid.,426-8.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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Shibli played the role of a bridge between Aligarh and Nadva. Aligarh stood with them at the point that Muslim Ulamā should unite themselves to face the problems of the modern civilization.[269]

Its main objective was to address those problems faced by the Indian Muslims posed by the modern civilization and find their solutions keeping the needs and demands of that time.

Sayed Sulamān Nadvi, the most distinguished scholar of Nadva had well elaborated the problems facing the Muslims in those days. He pointed out that as a result of British dominance in India the old system of *madrasas* and *maktabs* was breaking down. Muslim boys were attracted to the modern educational institutions. A network of missionary activities had spread everywhere. Their orphanages had been established in every place. In this situation the old methods of instructions prevailed in Muslim religious organizations were outdated. The founders of Nadva set themselves to find the remedies of these difficulties.[270]

In its first session, Shibli introduced its purpose in these words: Ulamā should perform their duties under the guidance of the Muslims of India. He invited the Ulamā to launch their program to bring the Muslim out of the suspicious situation created by the advent of modernity. He emphasized Ulamā to present a clear interpretation of Islam. For this purpose, they should unite remained in their own sect.[271]

Nadva was founded by Maulana Shibli Naumani (1857-1914), Muhammad Ali Monghiri and a group of Muslim Ulamā, in a conference held at *Madrasa* Faiz-i-Am in Kanpur on 22 to 24 April 1894. After four years in 1898, Monghiri prepared the structure of an educational institution to be set at Lucknow by Nadva. It comprised of an academic complex, hostels, and houses for the faculty and administrative staff. It built a spacious mosque, a guest-house, and an excellent library.

[269] Aziz Ahmad, *Barray Sagheer mein Islami Jadidiat,* 166.
[270] Boards of Editors, *A History of Freedom Movement,* 426.
[271] Aziz Ahmad, *Barray Sagheer mein Islami Jadidiat*, 164.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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and Deoband (traditional education). It attempted to combine the traditional branches of Islamic knowledge with modern sciences. It came under the influence of modernization. Nadva is described as a synthesis of Aligarh and Deoband. The institution sought to combibe religious disciplines[272], modern sciences, and vocational training altogether. Emphasis was also placed on the physical training through horse-riding, swimming, and target-shooting as well. Nadva interacted positively with the British and English Educated Muslim who served them.[273] It introduced significant changes in the contents of instruction and new disciplines were introduced at Nadva.

In spite of all the efforts of synthesizing modernity and tradition, it could not achive its objectives. The introduction of English and modern disciplines could not broaden the vision of the Ulamā so that they could reconcile to the demand of modernity. It only increased the capacity of Ulamā to refute Western culture and ideas. Nadva helped the Muslims of the subcontinent a lot especially as a reconciler between the modern and traditional. It also helped in promoting the study of Arabic as a living language.[274]

Soon Nadva got popularity throughout the country. In 1908, the founding fathers of Nadva decided to publish a journal named *al-Nadva*. Although it had a short life yet it yielded valuable services to the cause of education and learning. Maulana Habib-ur-Rehman and Maulana Shibli were its first editors. Among its contributors were notable writers like Abul Kalam Azad and Syed Sulamān Nadvi. The journal al-Nadva enabled the Muslim Ulamā to familiar with new trends and problems of the modern age. It also attempted to make the importance of the Arabic and Islamic Studies in the subcontinent.[275]

Dar-ul-Musannifin Azamgarh emerged as a sister institution of Nadva which produced a notable group of writers. They had many remarkable publications on several religious perspectives. In the field of research in Islamic scholarship, it made

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[272] New course of Islamic Education at Nadva had some distinctive features. It served as a bridge between the old and new world. Nadva aimed at producing an educated class of Muslims well versed in traditional and modern scholarship. Nadva sought to give Arabic a central place in its system of education.
[273] Agwani, *Islamic Fundamentalism in India*, 30.
[274] Ibid., 31.
[275] Ibid.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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educational measures or in politics.[277] Since the 1920s the Ulamā of Nadva strongly criticized Sir Sayed's rationality. This tendency was evident from the articles published in its journal *Mu'arefi*.[278]

The Response of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement to Modernity

In addition to Deoband, another traditional response to colonial modernity came from *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement that sprouted from Delhi (See chapter two for the details about the creation and evolution of *Ahl-i-Hadith*). *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement was a transitional movement of return which got inspiration from Shah Waliullahi Movement on one side and on the other Wahabi Movement of Arabia led by Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahhab. In its search for a purified Islam, it strove to purge Islam from ignorance, superstition and other borrowings from Hinduism.

After 1857, the nature and character of the revivalist and reform movements diverted towards the acquisition of education. Like another reform movement of the day *Ahl-i-Hadith* put its emphasis on education. It was apparent that the well-born and educated Muslims were converted into *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideology.[279] Modernity had influenced the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement directly or indirectly. Modern education created a class who questioned the orthodox Islamic culture.

Yoginder Sikand also kept that "Exposure to western culture and the challenges of modernity, in particular, the emergence of modern educational systems under colonial rule, seem also to have goaded several Muslims to re-question popular Sufism, seeing it as only promoting superstition, helplessness, and fatalism, but as also un-Islamic in itself. Among the most prominent of these were the Salafis (*Ahl-i-Hadith*)."[280]

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[276] Boards of Editors, *A History of Freedom Movement,* 429.
[277] Agwani, *Islamic Fundamentalism in India*, 31.
[278] Aziz Ahmad, *Barray Sagheer mein Islami Jadidiat,* 166-7.
[279] Metcalf, *Islamic Revival,* 265.
[280] Yoginder Sikand, "Popular Kashmiri Sufism and the Challenge of Scripuralist Islam (1900-1989)," in *The Valley of Kashmir: The Making and Unmaking of a Composite Culture?* ed. Aparna Rao, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distridutors, 2008), 491.

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1902) and Nawab Siddiq Hasa Khan (1832-90) were the founders of this movement. The motives of the movement had been revealed in Nawab Siddiq sayings as below:

> I fill the skirt of my garment with flowers from
>
> The garden of the Quran and *Sunnah*
>
> The use of speculation and personal opinion is chaff to me;
>
> The analogy of no one will misguide the Nawwab
>
> For he has taken as proof the Traditions and the Book.[281]

Ahl-i-Hadith were separated from the other Muslims by their distinctive way of offering daily prayers. They also advocated widow-marriage as Islamic and attacked the dowry. They propagated their vision of Islam through the print capital, learned scholars and formal debates.[282] They denounced the religious views of Sayed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) and his modernist Aligarh School of thought.[283]

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ulamā of this movement emerged as an effective voice in debates both against the other Islamic groups and non-Muslims. These included Ahl-i-Sunnat (Barelvi), Deobandi, Ahl-i-Quran, Shia, Ahmadiyya Movement, Christian missionaries, Arya Samajis, Nadvat–ul-Ulamā, and Aligarh Movement.[284]

Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* founded a number of *madrasahs* which came to play a vital role in the diffusion of their ideology to the laymen. Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* confronted with the challenges of modernity and tried to preserve Islamic pure values. For them, the decadence of the Muslim society was the result of their stray from the glorious path of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and from strict monotheism. According to them, this decay could be stopped by practicing pure Islamic culture. They uttered the cry that Muslims would have to go back to the pristine time of Islam. For them, any innovation from the path of the Prophet and represented in the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet was condemned.

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[281] Saeeudullah, *The Life and Works of Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal,* in Metcalf, *Islamic Revival*, 265.
[282] Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements,* 56-7.
[283] Aziz Ahmad, *Barray Sagheer mein Islami Jadidiat,* 176.
[284] Ibid. 168-177.

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questioned the legitimacy of the four traditional schools of *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence). Here they differed from Deobandis and other Sunni sects which followed the Hanafi School of thought. They believed in the literal interpretation of the Quran and Hadith.

He further claimed that the government schools and colleges were turning out, year by year, numbers of the students to whom the old orthodox religious position seemed vulnerable. He called them as *Ghair-i-Muqallid* and they were not unsighted followers of the moulvies of the past and present. He hoped that they made the foundation of the reformed and purified Islam a religion.[285]

Martin Riexinger while contextualising the *Ahl-i-Hadith* argues that it showed more affinity to modernity than the adherents of another Sunni school of thought. He contended that many well-to-do lay members and some scholars play a leading role in the local Muslim association for the promotion of the welfare and secular education. Sana Ullah Amritsari (1868-1948) frequently addressed the gatherings at the sessions of Anjuman-i-Himayat-i Islam in Lahore which organized several modern institutions.[286] Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti was among the founding members of Anjuman-i-Islamiya Sialkot. The affinity of *Ahl-i-Hadith* with modern educational organizations showed their inclination to modernity.[287]

After giving a sketch of responses of religious communities of India to modernity, I come to the influences of modernity on the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. Like a collision of modernity with the religious movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, the Ulamā came to redefine their world-view.

Edward Sell, a contemporary writer used the name *Ghair-i-Muqallid* for (Wahabis) *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Edward Sell while distinguishing *Ahl-i-Hadith* from the other sects of Islam highlights that they were the modern Mutazalis who formed the new vision of Islam in India of today.

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[285] Edward Sell, "The New Islam," in *Modern Muslim India in British Periodical Literature* Vol-1, ed. K.K. Aziz, (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1998), 203.

[286] Martin Riexinger, "How Favourable is Puritan Islam to Modernity? A Study of Ahl-i- Hadith in Late Nineteenth/Earl Twentieth Century South Asia," in *Colonialism, Modernity and Religious Identities: Religious Reform Movements in South Asia,* ed. Gwilym Beckerlegge, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008)," 152.

[287] Ibid.,152.

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Movement with colonial modernity (three antecedents of modernity such as the western type of education and Missionary Agency, translation of scriptures into local languages and technology of printing), which further solidified the literal interpretation of the Quran and Hadith that were the features of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement. By emphasizing this aspect, I do not suggest that this contestation led *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement to re-conciliate with modernity rather it highlights how this Movement made use of various antecedents of modernity for the dissemination of its puritanical teachings. The *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement tried it best to adopt those features of the Colonial modernity that helped them in the dissemination of their ideas far and wide of the country. This adaptation of modern tools of dissemination helped the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* to attack the religious orthodoxy and create a purist form of Islam. The disseminators of this movement stood for the cause of Islam declared the Sufi practices as innovations and created a reasonable following. *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement turned against Sufism.

For Siddiq Hasan, a key maneuver in separating the *Ahl-i-Hadith* from the Arabian Wahabis was his interpretation of the *Jihad*. He had mentioned that how certain types of *Jihad* were against the traditions of the Prophet. Most importantly, Siddiq Hasan Khan argued, that for Wahabis it was obligatory that they undertake *Jihad*, but since India was an 'abode of freedom and peace' one could not think of undertaking *Jihad* at all. On numerous occasions in this tract, Siddiq Hasan argued, that he was being framed by his enemies, and whenever someone wanted someone to look bad in the eyes of the Government, they called him a Wahabi.[288] The other main defense in this book was to denounce *Jihad* and state that he and his followers too, were loyal to the British Government. To call them rebellious and *Jihad*is, was against the rational.[289] The above details evidently showed that how the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* exerted their own perception of Islam.

The medium, through which the debate was conducted, was through the Urdu print culture. Although Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* also published books in Arabic, now the Urdu was considered as the Language of the people. Using this new print technique the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were engaged broadly to counter their opponents and to reach the audience not present at the spot.

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[288] Siddiq Hasan Khan, *The Tarjuman-ul-Wahabiya* (Agra: Mufid-i-Am Press, 1883).
[289] Ibid., 21.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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The Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* took full advantage of modern tools of dissemination such as printing presses and that of translation of Scriptures into vernacular languages that were primarily introduced by the Christian missionaries. The Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* produced new books and pamphlets which were distributed among the people to disseminate their ideas. The Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* also circulated the books of Sayed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed. They used different techniques of preaching. They gathered people in the bazaars, streets and in festivals and started to talk about their ideology.

Before the introduction of print culture in India, a public forum was the main place where religious debates were happened to take place between adversaries and with people of different beliefs and faiths. But the print had replaced this public forum harmony into religious animosity. Through the print culture, the Ulamā attempted to produce their own particular spheres of influence. Who a Muslim was, was a question which many Muslim publicists saw being discussed and articulated in the print public sphere.[290] The main purpose of print was not only to gain converts but to strengthen their specific religious identities.[291]

Here is a brief sketch of *Ahl-i-Hadith* engagement with print capital. Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* wrote on diverse areas. Of them publicists' writings relating to the Quranic exegesis, the renowned scholars included; Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri, Sana Ullah Amritsari[292], Deputy Nazir Ahmad Delhvi and Abdul Majeed Suhdari.[293]

Of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* publicists writing in relating to Hadith literature, the best known had been Siddiq Hasan Khan[294], Sana Ullah Amritsari[295], Abdul Tawwab

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[290] S Akbar Zaidi, "Contested Identities and the Muslim Qaum in Northern India: 1860-1900," (PhD diss., Cambridge University), 131.
[291] Ibid., 133.
[292] Sana Ullah wrote an Arabic commentary on the Holy Quran named *Tafsir-ul-Qurab bi-Kalam al-Rehman* in 1902. While writing exegesis on the Holy Quran, he interpreted some miracles on the basis of rationality which created religious furor among the Ulamā of Ahl-i-Hadith. It was settled by King Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia in 1926 on the occasion of World Conference.
[293] Muhammad Ishaq Bhutti, *Ahl-i-Hadith Khuddam-ul-Quran* (Lahore: Maktaba Quddusia, 2005).
[294] Siddiq Hasan Khan wrote about fifty books on Hadith, of them eighteen were in Arabic, nineteen in Persian and thirteen in Urdu. Besides these writings, he also wrote on Quranic exegesis, Beliefs System, Jurisprudence and in the refutation of other sects of Islam and also against non-Muslims.
[295] Sana Ullah Amritsari's writings cover diverse disciplines of religious scholarships.

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All of them wrote extensively on the Traditions of the Prophet and spread the message of *Ahl-i-Hadith* throughout the country. All had made a huge impact on Muslim consciousness towards Hadith learning. Their works had been reproduced, debated, contested and examined in great detail in scholarship.[297]

Ahl-i-Hadith writers of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century wrote extensively in the refutation of their opponents. It was evidenced by a large number of published tracts and pamphlets. They were speaking to each other as well as well to the Christian missionaries, Arya Samajis, and Sikhs.[298] They were actively engaged with each other, with members of other sects of the Muslims who could read or understand Urdu. In fact, amongst those writers who were trained in this specific field of religious refutation were: Sana Ullah Amritsari, Muhammad Hussain Batalvi, Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti, and Abul Qasim Saif Benarsi.[299]

Ulamā of the movement brought a scriptural shift in the subcontinent by rejecting Sufism along with its all form of rituals and denying four schools of jurisprudence. Instead, they laid orientation on the primary sources of Islamic Law, the Quran, and the Hadith. Conversely, the defender of traditional Sufi Islam also moved towards Scriptures for the authenticity of their beliefs. The question that this section seeks to deal with is that how *Ahl-i-Hadith* made better use of tools of modernity such as print. They forcefully with the usage of print in the second half of the nineteenth century identified the presence of impure Islamic practices and challenged them.[300] In reaction against them, Abdullah Chakralwi launched theAhl-i-Quran Movement (People of the Quran) which was formulated in1902.

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[296] Abdul Tawwab Multani was disciple of Sayed Nazir Hussain. He himself set up his *Maktaba-i-Salafiya* and published several rare books of Imam Ibn Taymiyya, Hafiz Ibn Qayum and Imam Shaukani etc.
[297] Abdul Rasheed Iraqi, *Barr-i-Sagheer Pak-o-Hind mein Ilm-i-Hadith* (Lahore: Muhadis Ropari Academy, 2007), 51-56.
[298] Ibid., 57.
[299] Ibid., 57-59.
[300] Zaidi, "Contested Identities," 129.

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CHAPTER-2

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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CHAPTER 2

The Growth of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab: Ulamā, *Madrasa*s, and Instruction 1880-1930

The chapter takes a synoptic view of the growth of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century by looking at Ulamā, *madrasa*s and the medium of instruction that prevailed in *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s. The movement grew from Delhi and Bhopal. Later it spread its tentacles in the East and West Punjab.

It argues that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement established itself as an organized movement in Punjab on account of pioneering efforts of its main exponents Siddiq Hasan and Nazir Hussain who not only provided intellectual leadership to the movement but also were able to train a team of dedicated and devoted followers. The latter established a network of *madrasa*s in a number of districts of the Punjab that played a key role in spreading the influence of the movement across the province. In addition to these, the movement effectively capitalized on the avenues that modernity had made available, particularly the print culture to disseminate its religious message. It further argues that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement being carrier ideology of scriptural Islam developed strong puritanical streaks among its followers through the curriculum, which aimed at equipping students core/ basic knowledge of Quran and Hadith in order to develop a sense of individual responsibility towards religious obligations. Thus it was able to shape a distinct worldview among its followers.

The chapter is divided into six sections. Section 2.1 discusses the key role the seminary of Mian[301] Sayed Nazir Hussain Delhvi (1805-1902) played in building the ideological foundations of the movement as he trained a core group of students who became carriers of the ideological influences of the movement across United Punjab. Section 2.2 analyses the role of some prominent *Ahl-i-Hadith* Ulamā of Punjab like Abdullah Ghaznavi, Abdul-Jabbar Ghaznavi, Sana Ullah Amritsar and Hafiz Abdul Manan Wazirabadi in promoting the cause of the movement. Section 2.3 provides insights into the organizational structure of the movement. The following section (2.4) traces the development of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect in the East and West Punjab by focusing on the influential role of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* seminaries in a number of districts. The

[301] Nazir Hussain was given the title '*miyan*' means a good natured man by the people of Delhi due to his kindness and moderate temperament.

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*Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s. The last section assesses the response of the movement to colonial modernity by showing that how and in what ways the movement capitalized on one of the important agency of modernity—the print culture.

2.1 *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab in late Nineteenth Century: An Overview

Ahl-i-Hadith Movement emerged as one of the most influential reforms and revivalists movements in colonial Punjab. The *Ahl-i-Hadith* emerged as a separate sect in Northern India between the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Though the representation/ number of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the population could not exceed more than 1.5 percent in the province. However, the movement's influence in the colonial Punjab and North Western Pakistan was disproportionately high as compared to its relatively small representation in the population.

Two figures stand out prominently among the pioneers of the movement--Sayed Nazir Hussain (1805-1902) and Nawab Siddiq Hassan Khan Bhopali Al-Qanuji [hence after Siddiq Hasan] (1832-1890). They made claims of heirs of Shah Waliullah's teachings. Section 2.2 provides more details about the pioneering role of Siddiq Hasan and Sayed Nazir Hussain in the movement, which initially developed in the Uttar Pradesh (UP) and later spread to Punjab. Later Amritsar became the strong hub of the activities of the movement.

The ideology of the movement over time attracted some sections of educated classes as well as lower middle classes and commoners of smaller cities and towns like Ferozepur, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Wazirabad and their adjoining rural areas. Barbara Metcalf, a scholar of Islam in colonial India, opines that educated and well-born Muslims were attracted towards the movement and proactively participated in spreading its influence.[302] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, a historian of South Asian Islam, described *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement as the "product of time."[303] I fully subscribe to this view. I argue that a number of factors like the reaction of reformist ulamā against Shrine-centered Islam, the advent of modernity and its antecedents, the "clash

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[302] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 268.
[303] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodian of Change* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), 11.

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antagonism in the colonial Punjab, since 1870's onwards played a key role in the rise and growth of the movement.[305] It would be relevant to provide a brief description of these factors.

By the time the rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement, Punjab was under the dominant influence of Shrine-centered Islam. Its followers espoused the ideology of *Wahdat al-Wajud*[306], that embraced the concept of "Unity of Being."[307] The Shrine-centered Islam was profoundly influenced by the ideas of Ibn Arabi (1165-1240). The distinctive characteristics of Shrine-centered Islam included: saintly intercession, the prevalence of oral tradition, the central role of pirs (spiritual leaders) as well as of *khānaqāhi nizam* in the religious lives of people.[308] This tradition was very heterogeneous.[We have further problematized the issue in the Introduction]. Nevertheless, it is usually assumed that it presented a tolerant and pluralistic vision of Islam and laid great stress on high ideals of humanity-- kindness, piety, love, and unselfishness.[309]

While tracing the formative influences on the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement the enquiry highlighted the role of the influences of the teachings of Ibn Taymmiyah in section 0.2.[310] But over centuries the Shrine-centered Islam came under various heterodox influences. That led to the rise of revivalist movements particularly the *Naqshbandiyya* reaction, of which Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624) and Shah Wali Ullah (1703-1762) were major exponents. Before the beginning of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement, Wallullahi became the carrier of such influence. The *Jihad* movement was one of its direct off-shoots. The followers of Waliullahi movement became ideologically motivated towards the task of ridding the Shrine-centered Islam of [what their exponents called] the "frivolities" and "accretions" of un-Islamic

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304 I have borrowed this phrase from Sharif-ul-Mujahid.

305 Kenneth W. Jones, "Communalism in the Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 28, (November 1968).

306 In fact the *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* was not actually devised by Ibn Arabi but he managed to reconcile different dispersed ideas of the Sufis in such a way that it formed a system based on sound thinking on mysticism. See Sayed Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* 2 vols. (Lahore: Sohail Academy, 2004), 1: 103.

307 Shah Waliullah, *Khair-i-Kathir* (Urdu trans. By Abdul Rahim), (Karachi: Darul Isha'at, 1992), 67-72.

308 Azra Wiqar, *Tasawuf ki Punjabi Riwayat* (Lahore: Nigarshaat, 1995), 80.

309 Ibid.

310 The section 0.2 also alluded the fact that how the Wahabbi movement the Abdul Wahab, a reformer of Najad, had launched became carrier of the influences of Ibn Tayyimiah's teachings.

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beliefs from Waliullahi movement. More specifically, its puritanical streaks, its reformist zeal. They also got inspired by the efforts of exponents of the latter like Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdul Aziz and Shah Abdul Qadir to make the translations of the Quran. Cumulatively, these efforts shifted focus towards scriptualist Islam. All the developments undermined the authority of the Pir.

While tracing influences on the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement one factor into consideration another critical development, that is the collision of the latter with colonial Modernity in the Nineteenth century, as a result of which it further lost its syncretic hues such as its sufi character movement, its syncretic, tolerant and accomodationist features. Instead, it became more and more puritanical. This transformation later found its manifestations in form of militancy of the *Jihad* movement, the Chistiya revival in the second half of the Nineteenth century, the acceptance of influences of neo-sufism.

Section 0.2 of Introduction that contextualised the rise of *Ahl-i-Hadith* by engaging the opinion of Francis Robinson who argued that how the realization of the decline of Muslim power forced the leadership of reform and revival movements to change their strategy, which led to:

> A primarly other-worldly faith in which the believer might expect saintly intercession for man with God, tom one in which such belief was frowned upon by many, and the burden of following God's way and achieving salvation was made to rest with the consiencece of each individual.[311]

I argue in the thesis that under the British rule the *Waliullahi* movement collided with colonial modernity. This interface of *Waliullahi* movement with modernity produced a number of results. Among the other results that the collision produced the most profound was a shift towards "scriptural Islam," which was based on *Shariah* and contained puritanical streaks and was distinctly different from the Shrine-centered Islam.[312] This development further reinforced the puritanical streaks of reform and revival movements of which the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement constituted an important part.

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[311] F.Robinson, "The Ummah in the 21 st Century", 106. [I have re-cited the part of the excerpt from Francis article in 2000,that I quoted in the section 0.21 of the Introduction] to add clarity to my argument.

[312] Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the impact of Print," *Modern Asian Studies*, 27, 1, (February, 1993): 238.

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Holy Quran and the *Hadith* (sayings of Muhammad). Its followers were against blind adherence to the four schools of Jurisprudence (*Fiqh*). It condemned all the mediatory organizational forms such as saintly intercession, *urs*, *qawwāli*, *gyarahwin* of Abdul Qadir Jillani. The Movement rejected all the ritual practices the adherents of Shrine-centered Islam followed as innovations.[313] [This topic is dealt with a greater length in the sections 1.4 of Chapter 1 and 5.1 of Chapter 5 of the study]. Therefore, practices like *milād sharif* (birth anniversary of the Holy Prophet), *fatiha* became the target of the criticism of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. The followers of the movement forbade visitations to the tombs of saints (even to the grave of the Holy Prophet). It tried to arouse awareness against veneration of pirs. The practices like *samah-i-maota* and various other rituals associated with *Muharram* further became the target of their trenchant criticism. In the nutshell, the movement tried to purify Islam of out-worldly asceticism.[314]

As we noted in the Introduction and Chapter 2 that the British rule became a carrier of influences of modernity. Section 2.1 discussed the role of a number of antecedents of modernity like the Christian Missionaries, the print culture and the introduction of the modern educational system.

The British Government through Charter Act of 1813 allowed the Christian Missionaries to spread Christianity in India.[315] We have already explained in the previous chapter that how the Christian missionaries made concerted efforts to spread Christianity between the 1830's and 1860's in Punjab by deploying various agencies of modernity. These activities made the Muslim theologians filled with apprehensions.

Pnina Werbner, a social anthropologist, opines that the advent of modernity ushered in a new era of religious debate. Print capitalism, as well as mass education, played a crucial role in the rise of new sects in India and Punjab was no exception.[316]

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[313] The Sufis were regarded as the out-worldly or other-worldly ascetics who were the men of spiritual knowledge whereas the *Ulamā* were commonly observed as worldly-wise men. Discussed in detail by a number of scholars of South Asian Islam included Francis Robinson, Barbara Daly Metcalf, Usha Sanayal, Tahir Kamran, Ali Usman Qasmi. Also See Tara Chand, *A History of the Freedom Movement in India*, 2 Vols. (Lahore: Book Traders, 1979), 1:127.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Avril Anon Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1993), 80.
[316] Pnina Werbner, "The Making of Muslim Dissent: Hybridized Discourses, Lay Preachers and Radical Rhetoric among British Pakistanis," *American Ethnologist*, 23, 1, (Feb., 1996):111. On the occasion of Sunni Conference at Muradabad in March 18, 1925 Pir Jama'at Ali Shah Alipuri indicates

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establishment of the new religious identities of the religious communities like Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs.

Thus the process of identity formation found its clear manifestations in the development of new sects and communal organizations that were mainly formed between 1860 and 1890's. Not surprisingly, these developments encouraged communal cleavages. The establishment of Arya Samaj in 1877 posed a new challenge to Muslims as Arya Samajists made scathing criticism of Islam. This period saw the establishment of various organizations and *madrasa*s like Dar-ul-uloom Deoband, Manzar-i-Islam Bareilly, and Jamia Ahmadiyya Qadian. They represented different schools of thought, which later were transformed into sects such as Wahabi/*Ahl-i-Hadith* (the 1850's—1890's), Barelvi (1880s), Deobandi (1867 onwards), Ahl-i-Quran (1880's onwards) and Ahmadiyya movement (1890's).[317] Hence, we see the rise of schisms in the Muslim community. Each of the sects claimed to be true Muslims and denigrated those who belonged to the other sect as, *bid`ati* or innovators and *jahanumi*.

Akbar Zaidi, in his study the "Contested Identities and the Muslim *Qaum* in Northern India" commented that the Muslim lacked "the sense of any sort of community."[318] He described all the attempts directed towards "identity and identification" as narrow and highly fractured. Though he acknowledges that the Muslims were connected to each other through some broadly shared, though highly contested Islamic symbols. But these feelings could not ignite the collective imagination, in the sense of a "community, nation or identity."[319]

The previous discussion highlighted the challenges that the Muslims of India particularly of Punjab faced during the nineteenth century. Let us move on to

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the growth of new sects in India. He further relates that several new sects such as *Wahabi, Ahmadi, Chakralvi, Babi and Bahai* were produced in India like mushroom. Before seventy years ago there was no one who claimed to be a *Wahabi*. Most of these were the product of the Punjab. Also See Akhtar Hussain, *Serat Ameer-i-Millat*, 2 Vols. (Qasur: Afzal Composing Center, 2009), 1: 95-98.

[317] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reforms Movements in British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 95. Also see J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (Toronto: Macmillan company, 1915). At that time Ahmadis were not declared as non-Muslims. They were declared as non-Muslims in Pakistan on September 7, 1974.

[318] S. Akbar Zaidi, "Contested Identities and the Muslim Qaum in Northern India: 1860-1900" (Ph. D diss., Cambridge University , n.d).

[319] Ibid.

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tradition by creating doubts. On the other hand, it also made new avenues like print capitalism, public sphere, introduction of new mediums of instructions, to name only a few, available to the adherents of traditions, to preserve and articulate tradition. And the religious reform movements were quick to grasp these opportunities.

Hence, it is not surprising to find that during the second half of the nineteenth century more than twelve Muslim scholars attempted to translate the Holy Quran into the Urdu language.[320] Apart from print, the religious organizations began to deploy other agencies of modernity to spread their religious message. For instance, they began to: use the loudspeaker, set up printing presses, launch newspapers and magazines and establish *madrasa*s and Dar-ul-ulooms that emulated modern styles of bureaucratic organizations.[321] In addition to these, they started issuing *fatawā* to articulate the opinion based particular school of Muslim jurisprudence. They also organized munāzaras to persuasively express their point of views and denigrate the viewpoint of their opponents. Later, they brought the printed versions of compilations of *fatawā* and details of proceedings of munāzaras. The entire process spanned more than half-century. Thus, we find that most of the sects [mentioned in the previous page] had established and later solidified their identities between the 1850's and 1890's.

The *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement, like the other religious movements, made effective use of agencies of modernity. It published the texts of religious particularly *Sirat al-Mustaqim* and *Taqwiyat al-Iman* that had been produced by scholars like Sayed Ahmed Shaheed and Shah Ismail – the carriers of Waliullahi Movement, to reinforce the ideological message of the movement. The spread of its *madrasa* network also shows that it had adopted modern styles of bureaucratic organization. Moreover, its emphasis on scriptural Islam added to its puritanical streaks. On account of these reasons David Gilmartin finds it more "through going."[322]

This context allows us to give one plausible answer to the question that how and in what ways the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement began to yield more influence in

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[320] Muhammad bin Abdullah, "Masla-i-Taqlid: Ijmah aur Qiyas," Urdu tans. Ahmad Baksh, *Zia-i-Haram*, 31, 11, (Aug., 2001): 33-39.

[321] Babra Metcalf's work on Deoband movement, describes it as a "modern organization"as it had thoroughly embraced the technologies of modernity.

[322] David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: I. B. Tauris$ Co Ltd, 1988), 55, 101.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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small religious sect, but the influence the movement yielded was disproportionate to its relatively small size. Section 2.3 and 2.4 of the present chapter and chapter 3 provide detailed answers to this question.

Let us take a brief overview of the growth of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab. Sayed Nazir Hussain arrived in Punjab in 1889/90 and addressed huge gatherings. People came in flocks to attend his sermons on Quran and *Hadith*.[323] A group of people embraced the ideology of the movement.[324] Abdullah Chakralvi[325], a disciple of Nazir Hussain, was amongst the earliest preachers of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Lahore.[326]

Muhammad Hussain Batalvi (1841—1920) was one of the well-known preachers of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. Hailing from Batala, he spent most of his life in Lahore played a key role disseminating the message of movement in Punjab. He had a reputation for powerful oratory and used to give sermons during Friday congregations at *Ahl-i-Hadith* mosque Lasoraywali near Sheranwala Gate.[327] He launched *Ishaat-al-Sunnah*, a weekly magazine, in June 1878 that became one of the effective carriers of spreading the puritanical ideology of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.[328]

The followers of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement were termed as Wahabi by their opponents in India on account of the general similarities of former's puritanical streaks with the Wahabi movement in Arabia.[329] Muhammad Hussain Batalvi wrote a letter to Lord Dufferin (r. 1884--1888), the British viceroy in 1886, demanding that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* follow the path of *Salaf*. Therefore, they should not be labeled as Wahabis, rather should be addressed with the nomenclature of '*Ahl-i-Hadith*'.[330]

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[323] Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti, *Tarikh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Quddusia, 2000), 483.
[324] Fazal Hussain Bihari, *Al-Hayat Bahd al-Mamat* (Shiekhupura: Maktaba-i-Asria, 1984), 146.
[325] He led a new sect named *Ahl-i-Quran* in Lahore. He denounced the authenticity of the Hadith literature and delivered his doctrine based on the revealed texts of the Holy Quran. His son Ibrahim Chakralvi (1870-1919) remained in Ahl-i-Hadith. Also see Metcalf, *Islamic Revival,* 289.
[326] Later he developed serious doubts about the authenticity of Hadith literature and founded a new sect caleed who was the first that converted to Ahl-i-Hadith sect, Ahl-ul-Quran in 1903.
[327] Abdul Ghafor, *Muhammad Hussain Batalvi: Hayat-o-Khidmat* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Qudusia, 2003), 45.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Letter no. 1758, dated 3 December 1886, from the Secretary to the Government of India to the secretary of the Punjab quoted in Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 4 Vols. (Delhi: Maktaba Tarjaman, 2008), 1:70-71. Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan (d-1890) had also expressed his serious reservations concerning the name Wahabi for the sect. He argued the Whabis of Arabia followed Hanbali school of thought. On the other hand, the Muslims of India were either followed Hanafi or Shia or Ahl-i-Hadith schools of thought. Therefore, no major sect of Indian Muslims called itself Hanbali.

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while responding to the letter instructed the governors of UP and Punjab to use of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the official correspondence.[331]

During the 1880's Mirza Ghulam Ahmed (1837-1908), a famous preacher [who later founded Ahmadiyya], also came under the influence of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. He became a close friend of Muhammad Hussain Batalvi. Both became proactively involved in polemical activities directed toward counterpoising the influence of Christian missionaries and Arya Samajis. In 1880 he wrote a series of volumes entitled *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya*, and Muhammad Hussain Batalvi published reviews of the work in *Ishaat-al-sunnah*.[332] However, he became a leading opponent of the ideology of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad when the latter made claims of Promised Messiah in the 1890's.[333] Muhammad Hussain was the first religious scholar who had issued a *fatawā* against the Ahmadiyya Movement, declaring its followers as infidels.[334]

Hafiz Waliullah Lahori (1835—1879) was also a popular preacher of *Ahl-i-Hadith* teachings. He obtained a religious education in the seminary of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar, Ghulam Rasul, in Qila Mian Singh (Gujranwala). Muhammad Hussain Batalvi was his class-fellow at Qila Mian Singh. He gained fame on account of the *Munāzara* activities against the Christian missionaries.[335]

After giving a brief sketch of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab, it would be relevant to focus on the two leading pioneers of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement Nawab Sadiq Hasan and Sayed Nazir Hussain.

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[331] Ibid.

[332] Lavan Spencer in his book *The Ahmadiyah Movement* commented that 'the Ahl-i-Hadith may have agreed with them (Ahmadis) on the issues of Jihad, loyalty and the question of Indian Muslims allegiance to the Turkish Sultan, as Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, but there was no agreement on or support of the other issues. See Lavan Spencer, *The Ahmadiyah Movement: A History and Perspective* (Delhi: Manohar Books, 1974) 13. Also see Shorash Kashmiri, *Sayed Ata Ullah Bukhari* (Lahore: Chataan Printing Press, 1973), 124.

[333] He claimed to be Promised Jesus and prophet in about 1900 and a separate community was thus formed in the colonial Punjab. He died in 1908 and Hakim Noor ud Din (a devoted follower of this new sect) became the first caliph. He remained the head of Ahmadiyya Movement till his death in 1914. Afterwards Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud, son of Ghulam Ahmad became second caliph. He remained caliph till 1965.

[334] H. A. Walter, *The Ahmadiya Movement: The Religious Life of India* (Calcutta: Association Press, 1918), 16. Also see Muhammad Hussain Batalvi, *Pak-o-Hind kay Ulamā-i-Islam Ka Awaleen Mutafiqqa Fatawā* (Lahore: Dar-ul-Dahwa Salafiya, 1986). Also see Shorash Kashmiri, *Sayed Ata Ullah Bukhari,* 124.

[335] Rehman Ali, *Tazkara-i-Ulamā-i-Hind* (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1961), 547. And also see Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab*, 2 Vols. (Lahore: Maktaba-i- Rehmania, 1998), 2: 817. Hafiz Waliullah wrote several books against Christian missionaries. These include: *Sianat-ul-Insan*, *Deeni Mubahsa* and *Abhas-i-Zarori*.

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Nawab Siddiq Hasan was born in a poor family that claimed to be the descendant of Makhdum Jahaniyan (1308-1384), a Sufi saint who propagated Islam in southern Punjab and Sind. Later the ancestors of Siddiq Hasan came under influence of Shiite Islam. However, his father got inspired by the teachings of Waliullahi movement's sons, became Sunni and participated in *Jihad* Movement of Sayed Ahmad Shaheed. Siddiq Hasan became a pupil of Sadruddin Azurda (d-1868) in Delhi, later he moved to Bhopal in the mid-1850s. In 1859, he got employed as an archivist. He was married to Shah Jahan Begum, the empress of Bhopal in 1871.[336]

He authored more than two hundred books on different religious topics, and twenty-three of these works were related to Hadith literature. The *Mufid-i-Am* press (Agra) published most of his books on Hadith.[337] His disciples compare him with Jalal-ud-Din Suyuti (1455-1505), an Egyptian jurist who is known for his monumental work on the *Hadith* literature.[338] He taught some prominent *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars of Punjab like Abdul Manan, Abdul Tawab Multani, and Ghulam Hasan Sialkoti. More significantly, his work had a huge influence on the prominent preachers of the ideology of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab.

2.2.1 Sayed Nazir Hussain and *Madrasa*-i-Naziriyya: Their influence in Punjab

Sayed Nazir Hussain was the other *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar whose teachings and works in certain ways contributed to the rise in popularity of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab. Nazir Hussain trained a core group of students particularly belonging to the Punjab who played a pivotal role in the dissemination of *Ahl-i-Hadith* teachings and its influences since the late nineteenth century.

Sayed Nazir Hussain was born in 1805 in a village Blithwa in Monghair, Bihar. Many members of his family had served as qazis in the courts of the Mughal emperors. By the time of Nazir Hussain's birth, his family had been facing serious financial constraints.[339] After the early death of his father Sayed Jawad Ali, he went to

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[336] Abida Sultan, *Memoirs of a Rebel Princess* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004), 10. Also see Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003), 207.
[337] Metcalf, *Islamic Revival,* 204.
[338] He was called 'our Indian Suyuti' by his co-religious scholars due to his excellent work on Hadith. Muqtadi Asari, *Tazkarat ul Munazareen* (Descriptions of Debates), 2 Vols. (Lahore: Dar-ul-Nawadar, 2007), 1:211.
[339] Metcalf, *Islamic Revival,* 268-69.

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religious texts in a short span of time. He moved to Delhi in 1826, to study advanced texts and got admission in the *Madrasa*-i-Rahimiyya where [according to Barbara Mectalf] he became a disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz, the elder son of Shah Wali Ullah.[340] Shah Muhammad Ishaq (1778-1846), the maternal grandson of Shah Abdul Aziz, taught him the original texts of Hadith, like *Sihah Sitta*[341], *Kanz-ul-Ummal,* and *Jamia-al-Saghir*. In addition to these Nazir Hussain went through major corpuses of literature on *Tafsir*, particularly the works like *Jillalain* and *Bayzavi.*[342] He was also served as the custodian of the Shah Waliullah's *Madrasa*-i-Rahimyyia in Delhi.[343]

This phase of his life coincided the period when Sayed Ahmad, a religious reformer of the early nineteenth century, had launched *Jihad* Movement (1826—1831). Nazir Hussain happened to meet Sayed Ahmad in the late 1820's in Patna, when the latter toured UP and Punjab to recruit dedicated voluntaries for the *Jihad* against the Sikh regime in Punjab. Nazir Hussain also availed the opportunity of listening to Sayed Ahmad's lectures on Quran and Hadith. He took great inspiration from the ideological mission of Sayed Ahmad and his followers. Therefore, *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement included the works like *Taqwiyat al-Iman* (Shah Ismail Shaheed) and *Sirat al-Mustaqim* (Sayed Ahmad Barelvi) as informal texts in the *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s.[344]

Nazir Hussain established a madrassa in Delhi in c.1850's. It was patterned on the old model. However, it was destroyed in the mid of plundering of Dehli in 1857. Later Nazir Hussain shifted the *madrasa* in the Masjid at Dhobi Katra Dehli.[345] The *madrasa* was named after him *Madrasa Mian Sahib* (*Madrasa-i-Naziriyya*).

The work of Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti, a renowned *Ahl-i-Hadith*, informs us that Nazir Hussain was imprisoned in Rawalpindi during famous Wahabi Trial in 1864-65.

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[340] Muqtadi Asari, *Tazkarat ul Munazareen,* 212.
There is controversy that he studied from Shah Abdul Aziz or not. According to Muhammad Baha-ud-Din, religious historian of the Ahli-Hadith Movement, Sayed Nazir Hussain reached Delhi it the year 1828 and at that time no son of Shah Waliullah was alive. See Muhammad Baha-ud-Din, *Tareekh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 4 Vols. (Delhi: Maktaba Tarjaman, 2008) 4:212.

[341] A collection of six books included; *Sahih Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, Tirimdi Sharif, Sannan Abu-Daud, Sannan-Nasai* and *Ibn-Maja Ssharif* are called *Sihah Sitta*.

[342] All these are classical text books of Hadith literature and some are exegesis of the Holy Quran.

[343] Muqtadi Asari, *Tazkarat ul Munazareen,* 212.

[344] Ibid., 210-220.

[345] The moaque was previously known as Phatak Hussain Khan.

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(lessons) in jail.[346]

Nazir Hussain taught Hadith and preached his ideology for about sixty years in Delhi. Besides creating his niche as a teacher, Nazir Hussain also earned fame as an erudite scholar of Islamic Fiqh (Jurisprudence). He issued numerous *fatawā* in the religious problems faced by the people in their daily lives. Shams-ul-Haq Azimabadi (d-1909) and Muhammad Abdul Rahman Mubarakpuri (d-1932), [his disciples], have compiled his rulings on the issues of Fiqh in two huge volumes under the titles, *fiqh-ul-Hadith* named *Fatawā-i-Naziriyya*.[347]

After reading this collection of *fatawā* one could imagine that how deep was his understanding of the Hadith as well as on Hanafi Fiqh. These *fatawā* encompassed a comprehensive range of the teachings of the sect including its beliefs, daily prayers, social life, economy, and morals.[348]

Nazir Hussain tried to abstain from political activism. He laid much emphasis on moderation in religious affairs. He preferred to offer Friday Prayers under the leadership of the Imam (prayer leader) who belonged to Hanafi sect in the Shahi Mosque of Delhi, instead of organizing separate Friday prayers in a *madrasa*.[349] In spite of reconciliatory demeanor, some of his works gave rise to controversies. His work *Mihyar-ul-Haq* is considered seminal work among the corpuses of literature that *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars had produced.[350]

The religious seminary that Nazir Hussain established trained a number of scholars that established a network of *madrasa*s or got associated with other *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s. Table 2.1 provides brief glimpses into this dimension.

[346] A student named Atta Ullah learned *Sahih Bukhari* and Holy Quran from him in jail.
[347] Nazir Ahmad Subhani, Preface to *Fatawā-i-Naziriyya,* by Sayed Nazir Hussain (Lahore: Ahl-i-Hadith Academy, 1970).
[348] Sayed Nazir Hussain, *Fatawā-i-Naziriyya,*2 Vols (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Quddusia, 2009).
[349] Muhammad Ismail Salafi, Preface to *Mihyar-ul-Haq,* by Sayed Nazir Hussain, (Lahore: Maktaba Islamiya, 2007), 21.
[350] Sayed Nazir Hussain, *Mihyar-ul-Haq* (Lahore: Maktaba Islamiya, 2007).

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Name of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar Area/ district	District/ Region
Ghulam Rasul Qalvi	Qila Mihan Singh (Gujranwala)
Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi Sana Ullah Amritsari	Amritsar
Abdul Wahab Multani	Multan
Muhammad Hussain Batalvi	Batala (Gurdaspur)
Hafiz Abdul Manan	Wazirabad (Gujranwala)
Hafiz Muhammad Lakhvi Abdul Qadir Lakhvi Maulana Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi	Lakhukay (Ferozepur)
Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti	Sialkot

Source: Fazal Bihari, *Al-Hayat Bahd al-Mamat*.

The Table shows that how a number of *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā who were trained at *Madrasa*-i-Naziryya Delhi were able to establish a network of *madrasa*s in the East and Central Punjab as a result of which the influence of the movement had penetrated into the districts of Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Ferozepur, and Gurdaspur. Now I delve into the role of some prominent *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā in Punjab.

2.3 The Prominent Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith*

Now we move on from the discussion on the pioneers of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement to the other prominent ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. It presents a brief case study of the prominent ulamā of the movement such as Abdullah Ghaznavi, Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi, Sana Ullah Amritsari and Abdul Manan Wazirabadi. By presenting brief biographical profiles of the ulamā who were the key figures of the movement it seeks to demonstrate that how and in what ways this prominent ulamā became carriers of *Ahl-i-Hadith* influences in Punjab.

2.3.1 Abdullah Ghaznavi and Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi.

Among the *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā of Punjab the Ghaznavi family From Amritsar, have acquired immense significance. One can identify the names of at least 14 ulamā that passionately served the cause of the movement between the 1850's and 1947.[351] Table 2.2 lists the names of prominent ulamā of Ghaznavi family.

Table 2.2: The Names of Prominent Ulamā of Ghaznavi Family between the 1860's and 1947

Name of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar	Their descendants
Abdullah Ghaznavi (1811-1879)	[his sons] Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghaznavi, Abdul Wahid Ghaznavi, Abdullah Ghaznavi , Abdul Quddus Ghaznavi, Abdul Aziz Ghaznavi
Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi	Daud Ghaznavi
Muhammad Ghaznavi	Abdul Ghafoor bin Muhammad Ghaznavi, Abdul Awal bin Muhammad Ghaznavi
Abdul Aziz Ghaznavi	Abdul Ahla bin Abdul Aziz Ghaznavi, Abdul Haqq bin Abdul Aziz
Abu Bakr Ghaznavi	Son of Daud Ghaznavi

Source: Fazal Bihari, *Al-Hayat Bahd al-Mamat*, 351-2. Sayed Abu Bakar Ghaznavi, *Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi* (ed.), (Lahore: Maktaba Ghaznavia, 1974).

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[351] See table 2.3.

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of Sayed Nazir Hussain. This subsection provides brief biographical sketches of two distinguished ulamā of Ghaznavi family—Abdullah Ghaznavi and his son Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi. It would be relevant to mention here that Abdullah Ghaznavi had come to Amritsar on the invitation of Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri (1826-1889).

Before looking at the role the Ghaznavi family played in disseminating the ideology of the movement it would be interesting to have few words about Ghulam-ul-Ali Qusuri who had invited Abdullah Ghaznavi to settle in Amritsar. Ghulam-ul-Ali Qusuri was the first scholar who had embraced the ideology of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.[352] He got his religious education from two prominent scholars of Ahl-i-Sunnat Ghulam Muhiy-ud-Din Bugvi and Maulana Ahmad-ud-Din Bugvi in Lahore.[353] His elder brother Maulvi Ghulam Rasul had been teaching in a government school in Amritsar. Ghulam-ul-Ali reached Amritsar in 1853 on the persuasion of his elder brother. He began his career as a Naib (Assistant) teacher in the same school where his elder brother used to teach. In 1861 he resigned from government service and devoted himself to the cause of the movement.

He voiced trenchant criticism against Sunni fiqh. Particularly, he constantly began to raise his voice against *taqlid* (imitation).[354] But he had to face strong reaction from local Muslims who stopped him from peaching his creed in the mosque called *Sarki Bandan*. He vowed to build his own mosque to serve the *Ahl-i-Hadith* cause more effectively. He went to his village to sell his ancestral house and from that money, he built the first *Ahl-i-Hadith* mosque in Amritsar. Later he established a *madrasa* named *Taid-ul-Islam* in this mosque. Then he invited Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi to Amritsar and started preaching the ideology and new ideology.[355]

Abdullah Ghaznavi was also among those who changed their names considering as *shirāk* or *bid'at*. Muhammad Azam was his original name. He considered that the name Abdullah had qualities of servitude.[356] He was born in Afghanistan but Amir Dost

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[352] The real name of Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri was Ghulam Ali but he changed his name considering it as a *bida*.
[353] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Gulistan-i-Hadith* (Lahore: Maktab-e-Quddusia, 2011), 77. Also see Anwaar Ahmad Bugvi, *Tazkar-i-Bugviya,* 2 Vlos. (Lahore: Khayber International Printers, 2007), 1: 128-132.
[354] Ishaq Bhatti, *Gulistan-i-Hadith*, 78. Also see Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-e-Ulamā-i-Punjab,* 1:404-6.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi, *Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Rahmaniyya, 1967), 1.

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country on account of propagation of reformist ideology.[357]

Abdullah Ghaznavi moved to Delhi in 1850's after being expelled from Afghanistan and got himself enrolled in *Madrasa*-i-Naziriyya and obtained *Sanad-i-Hadith* from Sayed Nazir Hussain Delhvi. Abdullah Ghaznavi proved himself as one of the star pupils at the *Madrasa*-i-Naziriyya. And Sayed Nazir Hussain, his teacher, and mentor always felt pride in him. He had no qualm in acknowledging the fact that he had learned the proper way of prayers from Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi.[358]

Abdullah Ghaznavi moved to Amritsar in 1867 and established the *Madrasa Salafia Ghaznaviyya Amritsar* that served as the headquarter of his religious mission. He earned fame as an outstanding teacher. He taught at *Madrasa Ghaznaviyya Amritsar* till his death in 1879. Muhammad Iqbal, a poet and ideologue of Pakistan in one of his letter to Din Muhammad Fauq, a Kashmiri poet, narrated a story of Abdullah Ghaznavi's passion towards teaching. Iqbal wrote that Ghaznavi was giving a lecture on *Hadith*. In the mid of the lecture, he was told that his son had passed away. He took a momentary pause and resumed the lecture. The incident provides us with a clear indication of his passion for teaching.[359]

Abdullah Ghaznavi drew intellectual inspiration from the works of Imam Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328) and Ibn Qayum (1292-1350).[360] The works of these theologians and reformers laid great stress on the centrality of Hadith in the accurate and through an understanding of Islam; Abdullah Ghaznavi tried to advance this kind of understanding about religion through his reform work and teaching activities. Therefore, a number of historians of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement give him credit in enhancing the understanding of this fundamental concept of religion.

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[357] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Ghaznavi Khandan* (Family of Ghaznavi), (Karachi: Imam Sham-ud-Din Dianvi Publishers, 2003), 37. Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi was born in Bahader Khail near Ghazni in Afghanistan. After attaining scholastic education he turned towards Sufism. For this purpose he reached Qandhar where a well-known Sufi Habib Ullah Qandhari was delivering his purist thoughts. Habib Ullah was very much fascinated from Sayed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail. See further details. Urdu Muaraf Islamiyya, Vol.7, 888-90.

[358] Baha-ud-Din, *Tareekh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 1: 315. Also see Muhammad Aslam Saif, *Tahreek-I-Ahl-i-Hadith Tareekh ka Ainain mein* (History of Ahl-i-Hadith in the Mirror of History), (Lahore: Maktaba Quddosia, 2005), 337.

[359] Allama Muhammad Iqbal indicates Ghaznavi's love for preaching *Hadith*. See Naqosh Lahore Makateeb Number, 303. On the other hand a prominent Ahl-i-Hadith scholar Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti denied this incident.

[360] Muammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Fuqha-i-Hind*, 3 Vols. (Lahore: Edara-I-Saqafat Islamia, 1989), 2:77.

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Lakhokay (Ferozepur) served as major institutions that sought develop among their student's requisite skills in rhetoric, *Khitabat*, *Munāzara,* and writing. The prominent students of *Madrasa*-i-Naziriyya included Muhammad Hussain Batalvi (1841-1920), Ghulam Rasul Qalvi (1813-1895), Qazi Muhammad Hayat Gul (Haripur), Abdul Rehman Lakhvi, Hafiz Muhammad Yousaf Amritsari and Hafiz Abdul Manaan Wazirabadi (1851-1916).

Abdullah Ropari was also a prominent disciple of Abdul Jabbar. He was born at a village Kamir Pur in district Amritsar in1887. He, after learning religious education, went to Ropar on the request of Jamaat-i-*Ahl-i-Hadith* Ropar and started weekly journal *Tanzeem-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*. He returned Amritsar and appointed as a *Khatib* in Masjid Mubarak *Ahl-i-Hadith*. After the partition, he settled at Lahore. He died on 20 August 1964.

After the death of Abdullah Ghaznavi his elder son Abdul, Jabbar Ghaznavi held the reins of *Madrasa Ghaznaviya* Amritsar.[361] He taught at *madrasa* for the next three decades. A number of his disciples Ghulam Nabi Sohdari (1847-1929), Nek Muhammad, Abdullah Roperi (1884-- 1864) and Muhammad Ismail Salafi (1901-1968) became well-known preachers of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.

The influences of Ghaznvai School were not confined to Amritsar but also spread to the other parts of Punjab. Ghulam Nabi Sohdari (1847-1929) was born in a town Sohdara that is situated near Wazirabad in District Gujranwala. He received his early religious education from his father Maulvi Mahbub Alam. Later he received religious education from a number of religious schools and *madrasa*s in Wazirabad, Jalalpur (District Sialkot) and Sialkot.[362] His religious ideas underwent dramatic change when he came under the influence of Abdullah Ghaznavi. He embraced the *Maslak* (creed) of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.[363] He preached *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideas in his town

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361 Saeed Ahmad Chinioti, *Maulana Muhammad Abdullah Varowalvi* (Faisalabad: Tariq Academy, 2001), 41-4.

362 Ghulam Nabi left for Wazirabad. Here he studied *sarf-o-Nahv, mantaq* (logic), *fiqh*, *usul-i-fiqh*, and *īlm-ul-Kalām* from a renowned scholar of Jurisprudence Maulana Qadir Baksh. After studying the above mentioned branches of Islamic scholarship, he travelled to Sialkot. At Sialkot, he received *sanad* in hadith and *tafsir* (exegesis) from a famous of the time Maulana Ghulam Murtaza Sialkoti.

363 Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab*, 2:528.

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into the fold of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.[365]

Maulana Nek Muhammad learned from Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi and taught for about thirty years at *Madrasa Ghaznaviya*. He was *Khateeb* at *Ahl-i-Hadith* Masjid Dilgaran Lahore. Muhammad Ismail Salafi (1901-1968) was an ardent disciple of Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi and Abdul Mannan. The other *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā particularly Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti and Sana Ullah Amritsari persuaded him to move Gujranwala to make it a center of religious reform activities of the movement. Muhammad Ismail Salafi established Jamia Muhammadiya Gujranwala in 1921 for the dissemination of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect which later developed into an important center of the proliferation of the influences of the movement in Central Punjab.[366]

2.3.2 Sana Ullah Amritsari and the Dissemination of the Religious Message of *Ahl-i-Hadith*

Abu al-Wafa Sana Ullah Amritsari was one of the most popular and well-known preachers and theologian of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. He made his niche as an orator *Mufasir, Muhadith, editor* and *munazir* (specialist of munāzara tradition) of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement.[367] He was born in June 1868. His father was a small trader of the woolen cloth who migrated from Kashmir to Amritsar in 1860. His father passed away when he was only seven years old. The death of his father caused collapsed to the family business. Due to financial constraints, he had to adopt the profession of dying clothes. Soon he became inclined towards the religious education.[368]

He got his early religious education from *Madrasa Taid-ul-Islam Amritsar* that Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri had established.[369] Between the late 1880's and 1900, he engaged himself seriously in the pursuit of religious education. For that purpose he got himself enrolled in the prestigious religious institutions of Delhi, Saharanpur, Deoband, and Kanpur.[370] Initially, he was initiated in the traditional Sunni school of

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[364] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Tazkara Bazurgan-i-Alavi Sohdara* (Sohdara: Majlis-i-Saqafat Sohdara, 1987), 46-47.
[365] Section 2.3.4 provides more details of the theme.
[366] Muhammad Hanif Yazdani, Foreword to *Tahreek-i-Azadi-i-Fiqr aur Shah Waliullah ki Tajdidi Masai*, by Muhammad Ismail Salafi (Cheetawatani, Sahiwal: Maktaba Muhammadiyya, 2006), 30-32. Also see Baha-ud-Din, *Tareekh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 3: 457.
[367] Abdul Majeed Sohdari, *Seerat-i-Sanai* (Lahore: Naumani Kutabkhana, 1989), 6.
[368] Ibid., 90-103.
[369] Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab,*1:404.
[370] He got *sannad-i-hadith* from Hafiz Abdul Mannan Wazirabadi in 1889 and went to Delhi. He also got admission in Mazahar ul Uloom Saharanpur. Afterwards, he studied *Hadith* from Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan at Deoband. Here at Deoband, he learned books like *Qazi Mubarak*, *Mir Zahid,*

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of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect in 1892. The exposure that he gained through education enabled him to learn the skill of rhetoric, oratory, and writing. He made effective use of these skills in his long career as a journalist, theologian, preacher, and *munazir*.

After completing his education, he taught at *Madrasa Taid-ul-Islam* (Amritsar) for some time.[371] He launched his career as a teacher in Maleer Kotla.[372] But later he devoted himself to the cause of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. One can argue that the religious situation that prevailed in Punjab was marked by communal antagonism. Moreover, the activities of Christian missionaries, Arya Samajis, Sanatan Dharmies, and Ahmadiyya had made the ulamā particularly those belonged to the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement that all these activities were directed against Islam.[373] Therefore, inspired by zeal to defend Isalm he devoted his career to the defense of Islam.

Here his stay was for a short time because at that time Punjab was the hub of anti-Muslim activities. Non-Muslims were busy in confronting Muslims.[374] Sana Ullah launched a comprehensive project of writing writings books, pamphlets through which he tried to defend Islam against the attacks of Christian missionaries, Arya Samajis, Sanatan Dharmies. He published six voluminous books against the Christian missionaries, thirty-two pamphlets against Arya Samajis. Among these works, two deserve special mentions. He wrote Haqq Parkash (1900) that was written in response to Dayanand Saraswati's *Satyarth Prakash*, which Dayanand had written in 1875. The other book was *Muqadas Rasul* (Septemper 1924) that he was a befitting reply to Rangila Rasul (May 1924) which was work of an unknown author.[375] In addition to these, he also wrote *Tafsir-i-Sanai* in eight volumes, in which he criticized non-Muslims as well as Ahl-i-Quran[376], Shia and Hanafi School of thoughts.[377]

Sadra, Shamas-i-Bazigha, and Hadayya etc. Afterwards, he turned towards Delhi and got *canned-i-Hadith* from Sayed Nazir Hussain and ultimately left the *Maslak i taqlid* (imitation of traditional Sunni schools of thought). In 1892 he reached Kanpur and got *canned i Hadith* from Maulana Ahmad Hasan Kanpuri. This shows that he was greatly benefitted from all the prominent scholars of the time.

[371] Ishaq Bhatti, *Gulistan-i-Hadith,* 78.

[372] Maleer Kotla was a state in cis-Sutlej area of the Punjab, under the imperial control of Jullundur Commissioner. Its boundaries were attached with Ludhiana and Patiala. Its rulers were Afghan Muslims. See also. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Punjab, Vol.1, pp. 398-400.

[373] Abdul Majeed, *Seerat-i-Sanai*, 127.

[374] Although Ahmadis proclaimed themselves as Muslims, yet all the Muslims sects declared them as nonMuslims. Abul Saeed Muhammad Hussain Btalvi was the first who published *fatawā* against Ahmadis. See Muhammad Hussain, *Pak-o-Hind Kay Ulamā-i-Islam ka Awwalleen Mutafiqa Fatawā*

[375] Abdul Majeed, *Seerat-i-Sanai*, 251-7.

[376] Ahl-i-Quran was a new sect which denounced the authority of Hadith. It was ushered by Abdullah Ghakralwi. His name was Ghulam Nabi but changed with Abdullah. He traveled to Delhi for his

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pamphlets against Ahmadiyya. He also launched a specific monthly magazine entitled *Muraqah-i-Qadiyani* which was devoted to counter the views that the magazines of Ahmadiyya movement *Al-Hakam Qadian* and the Review *of Religions* had been expressing in favor of their movement. The magazine had two brief stints, the first between 1907 and 1908 and the other in 1933. Nevertheless, it showed his unwavering commitment to defend the cause that was so dear to him.[378] He also participated in a number of munzaras between 1902 and 1941 that added to his fame as a scholar. Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti, in his important work on *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement, wrote that his followers gave him the titles of *Sher-i-Punjab* (the lion of Punjab) and *Fateh-i-Qadian* (Victorious over Qadian).[379]

Sana Ullah's association with journalism spanned more than four decades. In 1900 he launched a newspaper called *Musalman* that continued to publish on regular basis till 1913. He launched a monthly magazine called *Ahl-i-Hadith* on 13 November 1903 to project the point of view of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Besides using the magazine to propagate the cause of *Ahl-i-Hadith* he made it as an instrument to orientate the people ideologically about the seminal works of the main exponents of the movement. For instance, it used to publish reviews on Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qayyum, Shah Ismail, and Hafiz Muhammad Lakhvi to name only a few.[380] It also published advertisements about the activities of *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā and organizations.[381]

The *Ahl-i-Hadith* remained monthly till 1908 and from that year he converted it into a weekly that acted as a mouthpiece for the movement till August 1947 when it had to cease its publication after forty-four years on account of the outbreak of serious disturbances in Punjab that caused loss of lives of millions of people.[382]

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religious education. Primarily he adopted Salafi beliefs and ultimately rejected the originality of Hadith. See Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab*,1:41.

[377] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer kay Ahl-i-Hadith Khuddam-ul-Quran* (Lahore: Maktab-e-Quddusia, 2005),107-8.

[378] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Tazkara Abul Wafa Sana Ullah Amritsari* (Gujranwala: Nadvat ul Muhadiseen, 1983), 44-5.

[379] Mir Ibrahim, *Tareekh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 492.

[380] These works included: (i) Ibn Taymiyya's *Minhaj as-Sunnah an-Nabawiyya*, *Kitab al-Iman* and *Rafah al-Malam an-Aymat al Ahlam*; (ii) Ibn Qayyum 's *Zad al-Ma 'ad*, *Madaraj-al-Salakin* and *Tuhfat al-Wadud*……; Shah Ismial's *Taqwiyat al-Iman* and Sirat al-Mustaqim , and; H.M.Lakhvi's *Zeenat ul Quran*, *Ahwal-i-Akhrat* and *Saif ul Sunnat* .

[381] It is abvious by searching different files of *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar*.

[382] Abdul Rashid, *Tazkara Abul Wafa Sana Ullah*, 42-3.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔
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activities. It further shows that he had fully capitalized on the agencies of modernity in his long career as a theologian, journalist, orator, and specialist of *munāzara* tradition to project the viewpoint of the movement.[383] Thus he shot into prominence in a quick span of time as a religious scholar. Therefore, a number of Muslim educational and social reform organizations of Punjab, UP and other provinces, *Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam Lahore*, *Anjuman-i- Islamia* Amritsar, to name only a few began to invite him as a guest speaker in their social and political gatherings.[384] This background of active involvement in religious and social issues encouraged him to enter into politics and his political career spans more than three decades. This brief historical account of his life and works shows that how the *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā had begun to influence the social and political lives of Muslims of Punjab.

2.3.3 Hafiz Abdul Mannan Wazirabadi: *Ustad-i-Punjab*

The previous two sub-sections focused on the influential ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* that belonged to Amritsar but their influences no longer remained confined to that city. This sub-section describes the role of Abdul Manan Wazirabadi (1851—1916) who despite being blind carved out a distinctive niche for himself in the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement as outstanding teachers. Table 2.7 of the chapter lists 13 students whom he taught and who later became well-known preachers of the movement. Among those more prominent were Sana Ullah Amritsari, Abdul Hameed Sodhri, Mir Ismail Sialkoti, and Muhammad Ali Lakhvi. One can add the name of Ismail Salafi to the list. On account of this contribution, the *Ahl-i-Hadith* historians gave him the title of *Ustad fi Hadith* (teacher of teachers of Hadith) in Punjab.

Abdul Manan was born in Pinddadan Khan in District Jhelum in 1850. Although he was born blind, this physical limitation could dampen his passionate enthusiasm for the acquisition of knowledge of the Quran and the Hadith. He got his early religious education from Maulana Muhammad *Muhadith* Saharanpuri and Maulana Abdul Haqq Benarisy. He learned *Hadith* from Sayed Nazir Hussain Delhi and got *sanad-i-hadith* in 1874.

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[383] *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar*, 7 June 1935.
[384] Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer kay Ahl-i-Hadith Khuddam-ul-Quran*, 106. Also see Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Bazm-i-Arjamandan* (Lahore: Maktab-e-Quddusia, 2005), 144. And also see. Abdul Majid, *Seerat-i-Sanai,* 119-21.

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and started disseminating the ideology of *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideas in district Jhelum. He was the first person to raise voice against *taqlid* in the district. But it provoked a strong reaction from the local Sunni ulamā particularly Maulana Ghulam Hussain Chakwalvi and many others.[385] Afterwards, he relocated his *madrasa* to Wazirabad and established his own *madrasa* Dar-ul-Hadith Wazirabad in the 1880's and became a famous preacher of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement.[386]

Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti (1874—1956), who was one of his bright pupils, informs us that his illustrious teacher had taught *Sahih Bukhari* to more than forty batches of students in his long teaching career.[387] His services for the cause of *Ahl-i-Hadith* made his teacher Sayed Nazir Hussain so much pleased that he gifted his *dastar* (turban) to his bright pupil.[388] The ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the subcontinent rank him among the three renowned scholars of *Hadith* literature in Punjab. The other two included Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi and Hafiz Muhammad Lakhvi.

2.4 Organization of Ahl-i- Hadith *Madrasa*s in Punjab

Section 2.1 provided a historical account of the growth of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab, whereas the following section highlighted that how prominent ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* like Abdullah and Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi and their disciples, Sana Ullah and Abdul Manan were able to extend the influence of the movement. More than 26 *madrasa*s of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had been established in Punjab till 1930.[389] If we trace the trend of the establishment of the *madrasa* we find that most of these were

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385 Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab*, 1:358-59.

386 Abdul Majeed Sohdari, his biographer narrates that initially, Abdul Manan faced severe opposition from the locals but later he was able to develop a reasonable following.

387 Islami Encyclopaedia, 1058.

388 Abdul Majeed Sohdari, *Ustad-i-Punjab* (Lahore: Muslim Publications, 2002), 9.

389 Imam Khan Noshehrvi in his book *Hindustan mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Ilmi Kidmat* asserted that according to the survey published by the All India Ahl-i-Hadith Conference in the 1931 in Patna, the Ahl-i-Hadith operated twenty-six religious madrasas, whereas Ishaq Bhatti in one of his works puts the figure to 30. This amounted to all the other provinces of India except United Provinces and Bihar. One can trace back the trend as far back as in 1857 when the followers of traditional Sunni religious creed had labeled the mosque as "Wahabiun wali Masjid"(the mosque of Whabbis) where Ghulam Rasul Qalvi, an Ahl-i-Hadith scholar,used to diliver the Khutba (the Friday sermon), and forced him to leave the mosque (Neela Gunband Lahore),.Sana Ullah in his work *Fatuhaat -i-Ahl-i-Hadith* cites a number of the incidents that had taken place in the UP that led the Ahl-i-Hadith to engage in litigation against such acts. See Imam Khan Noshehrvi, *Hindustan mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Ilmi Khidmat* (Chechawatni, Sahiwal: Maktaba Naziriya, 1971), 172-88. And see Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer Mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht: Tanzeem, Tableegh, Tadrees* (Narratives of Ahl-i-Hadith in subcontinent: Organization, Preaching, Teaching), (Lahore: Maktab-i-Salafiyya, 2012), 284. Also see Noor Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti* (Lahore: Al-Faisal Nashran, 2001), 907. And Sana Ullah Amritsari, *Fatuhat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith* (Karachi: Maktab-i-Saudia, n.d).

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made the districts of Eastern Punjab particularly Amritsar and Ferozepur the prime focus of its activities. Ishaq Bhatti, a scholar, and historian of *Ahl-i-Hadith* inform that the movement also opened a number of *madrasa*s in the princely states of Punjab like Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Faridkot and Maler Kotla.[390] The scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith* opine that the movement gave prime focus to the dissemination of the message of Islam in non-Muslim majority areas. In the Muslim majority areas of Punjab, the *madrasa*s were established in the districts of Gujranwala and Sialkot.

As noted earlier the failure of the war of independence of 1857 *Ahl-i-Hadith* emerged as a separate sect and over time it began to establish separate seminaries to the transmit the message of the movement.[391] Most of the early preachers of the movement were the disciples of Nazir Hussain and when they established their schools they generally followed the model of *Madrasa-i-Nasiriyya*. The latter played a key role in training ulamā, khatibs, and orators; a large number of them throughout India as well as in Punjab for the diffusion of their vision.[392]

I argue in the section that the establishment of the *madrasa*s was the outcome of two major factors. The first the movement made determined efforts to disseminate its religious message to the people through the *madrasa*s. The other factor was the strong reaction of the adherents of Shrine-centred Islam. As the previous section showed that how the local Muslim population in districts of Amritsar and Jhelum forced the *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā like Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri and Abdul Manan to leave the mosques and these scholars later established separate *Ahl-i-Hadith* mosques and *madrasa*s.[393]

The *madrasa*s, besides, disseminating the ideology of the movement also trained ulamā to enable them to play effective roles in different spheres of life as prayer leaders, writers, preachers, and *munāzara* specialists. Over time they developed close contacts with ordinary people. The *madrasas* served as a major

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[390] Three Ahl-i-Hadith ulamāMauvi Muhammad Ismail, Hafiz Ali Muhammad, Maulana Muhammad Yahya opened a madrasa in Fardi Kot. In Maleer Kotla a small madrasa was working under the control of Maulana Abdul Ghafar. In Bahawalpur an Ahl-i-Hadith alim Abu Daud Abdullah performed his duties Madrasa Sadaqiyya. Similarly, Maulvi Abdul Azeem, a disciple of Sayed Nazir Hussain worked for the Ahl-i-Hadith ideology in Jammu. See Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer Mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht, 38,* 48, 50. Fazal Hussain, *Al-Hayat Bahd al-Mamat,* 358. Abdul Majeed, *Seerat-i-Sanai,* 158. Muhammad Ibrahim Khaleel, *Alfayuz-ul-Muhammadiyya* (Hujra Shah Muqeem, Okara: Al-Maktabat-ul-Aziziya, 1984), 257.

[391] First of its kind was of Sayed Nazir Hussain's seminary in Delhi.

[392] Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht,* 24-25.

[393]Ishaq Bhatti, *Gulistan-i-Hadith*, 77. Also see Akhtar Rahi, *Ulama-i-Punjab*, 1:358-59.

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sub-sections look at the development of *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasas* of United Punjab particularly in the areas like-- Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Gujranwala, and Wazirabad to show that how the movement gained strength between 1870's and 1947.

2.4.1 Amritsar

The district of Amritsar emerged as a strong hub of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab. As the previous section showed that a number of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars like Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri, the ulamā of Ghazaavi family and Sana Ullah had been preaching the ideology of the movement in the city. In addition to these two *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s, *Madrasa* Tiad-ul-Islam and *Madrasa* Salafia Ghaznaviyya also trained scores of *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā that was instrumental in establishing a network of *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s in other parts of Punjab. The work of Akhtar Rahi on ulamā of Punjab ranks the two *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s of Punjab—*Madrasa* Salafia Ghaznaviyya (Amritsar) and *Madrasa Muhammadiyya Lakhukay* (Ferozepur District) as the most influential centers of dissemination of knowledge of Hadith literature in Punjab. Abdul Jabbar the scholar of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, while highlighting the significance the city of Amritsar for the movement had assumed in the dissemination of the religious message of the movement analogized the latter with Khurasan.[394] One can reasonably presume that as Khurasan had emerged as the major center of producing Hadith literature during the early centuries of Islam. Likewise, Amritsar emerged as a center of dissemination of knowledge of Hadith in Punjab.[395] Martin Riexinger, a scholar of Islam in South Asia wrote in 2008 that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* first founded their religious schools in Delhi and Bihar moved towards Punjab in around 1880s and in the mid of expansion of the movement in the province the city of Amritsar surpassed all the older centers except Delhi.[396]

One can further argue that as rising of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement coincided with an upsurge of communal antagonism in Punjab, one can detect the ubiquitous presence of the

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[394]Abdul Jabbar, *Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi*, 22.
[395] Khurasan was extended along the north from Amu River, westward to Caspian Sea, southward from central Asia. It became famous in Islamic theology, Jurisprudence and especially in the collection of Hadith literature as well as in Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, Physics and geography. The writers of Sihah Sitta belonged to this region.
[396] Martin Riexinger, "How Favourable is Puritan Islam to Modernity? A Study of Ahl-I Hadis in Late Nineteenth/Earl Twentieth Century South Asia" in Gwilym Beckerlegge (ed.), *Colonialism, Modernity and Religious Identities: Religious Reform Movements in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 149.

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one can describe as] the twin challenges of Hindu and Sikh reform movements.[397] In this atmosphere, the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement that was the carrier of puritanical influences of Islam played a key role in awakening the community consciousness.

Let us examine the role of two major centers of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Amritsar. These included (i) *Madrasa* Taid-ul-Islam, and; (ii) *Madrasa* Salafia Ghaznaviyya Amritsar.

Taid-ul-Islam was the earliest *Ahl-i-Hadith* seminary in Amritsar. Ghulam-ul-Ali founded it in the 1860's. Before its establishment Muslim community of Amritsar was under the influence of the followers of Shrine-centered Islam. Even his father Muhammad Daud had been an adherent of Sufism and had a considerable following among the local Muslims but Ghulam-ul-Ali did not believe in *pir-i-muridi* practices. He started preaching against blind *taqlid* and innovations in the Mosque Sarki Bandan where he used to deliver sermons. He was the first exponent of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in the city who raised his voice against the practices that prevailed in shrines.

Quite understandably, this kind of religious interventions that carried puritanical streaks stirred the heated religious debates between the *Ahl-i-Hadith* and the followers of Shrine-centered Islam, which centered around the issues of *taqlid*, *samah-i-maota*, *nida-i-ghaib,* and *istimdād* (veneration). These also disturbed sectarian harmony in the city.[398]

Hence Ghulam-ul-Ali had to face the wrath of followers of Shrine-centered Islam as the latter began to label him as a renegade theologian and expelled from him the Mosque Sarki Bandan. As noted earlier that he was left with no other option but to built his own seminary, which he founded in 1860's under the name of *Madrasa Taid-ul-Islam*. He continued to give the Friday sermons in the *Madrasa* until his death.[399]

Ghulam-ul-Ali and his seminary played a pivotal role in the development of Amritsar as a strong center of the preaching of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. We observe that there were three key figures that became effective carriers of the ideological influences of

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[397] The Muslim population of Amritsar according to the Census Report of 1891 the population of Muslims stood at 452,237, whereas 538,127 Hindus and Sikhs lived in the city. See Akhtar Hussain Sandhu, *Punjab: An Anatomy of Muslim-Sikh Politics* (Lahore: Pak Institute of Regional Studies, 2014), 57. .[397]Among the Hindu reform movements the movements like Arya Samaj, Sanatar Dhram
[398] Ishaq Bhatti, *Gulistan-i-Hadith*, 77.
[399] Ibid., 81.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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Ghulam-ul-Ali and his seminary profoundly impacted all of them in some way or the other. For instance, it was Ghulam-ul-Ali who invited Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi to Amritsar to make the city a center of the movement, when he came to know that the Afghan government had forced the latter into permanent exile in India.[400] Sana Ullah received his early education from the *madrasa* and he also taught at his alma mater for a brief period of time.[401] Ahmad Ullah, who belonged to a well-to-do family of Amritsar, embraced the *Ahl-i-Hadith* creed under his influence. Ahmad Ullah was deputed as an *alim* in the *Madrasa* Taid-ul-Islam.[402] The seminary continued to work till 1947 when it was destroyed during the communal violence between Muslims and Sikhs.[403]

After having discussed the role of the *Madrasa Taid-ul-Islam*, let us move on to examine the role of *Madrasa Salafia Ghaznaviyya Madrasa* for the propagation of the ideology of the movement. The latter was founded by Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi in the 1870s. It remained one of the most influential centers of dissemination of the religious teachings of the movement. Abdullah Ghaznanvi who had learned the knowledge of Hadith from Sayed Nazir Hussain in 1840 's after completing his *Hadith* education had returned to Ghazni. As we have already mentioned in the sections 2.3 and 2.3.1 that how the Afghan ruler Aman Ullah had forced him into exile in India in the 1850's on account of the fact that he had become a carrier of the influences of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement that had puritanical streaks. The opponents of *Ahl-i-Hadith* could not tolerate the dissenting views that his teachings had expressed.

Later, after expulsion from Afghanistan, Abdullah Ghaznavi got settled in Amritsar and established *Madrasa* Salafia Ghaznaviyya. Muhammad Hussain Batalvi, who had invited him to move to the city also worked as a teacher in the newly established *madrasa* for a brief period of time.[404] Abdullah Ghaznavi started preaching against *bid'at* (innovations) and *shirāk*. As we noted earlier that more than twelve *alims* (scholars) of the Ghaznavid family were trained in the *madrasa*. Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi(1852—1913), the elder son of Abdullah Ghaznavi, who succeeded the latter as the head of the seminary, wrote in the biography of his father that on the account of his efforts Amritsar became a

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[400] Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab*, 1:404-5.
[401] Ishaq Bhatti, *Gulistan-i-Hadith*, 81.
[402] Mahnama Mu*hadith*, January 2002, 32.
[403] Ishaq Bhutti, *Barr-i-Sagheer mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht,* 44.
[404] Abdul Rashid, *Ghaznavi Khandan*, 31-40.

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the fact that it was dominated by non-Muslims.[405]

The Table 2.3 lists the names of prominent alims (scholars) who received training from *Madrasa* Salafia Ghazniyya

Table 2.3: The Famous Students of *Madrasa* Salafia Ghaznaviyya

Name of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar	Area/ district
Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi Mualana Abdullah bin Abdullah Ghaznavi Abdul Wahid Ghaznavi Abdul Awal Ghaznavi	Amritsar
Hafiz Abdul Mannan	Wazirabad (Gujranwala)
Maulana Ghulam Nabi	Sohdra (Gujranwala)
Maulana Neik Muhammad	Lahore
Maulana Abdullah	Ropar
Qazi Abdullah Qazi Abdul Ahad	Khanpur (Hazara)
Maulana Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi	Lakhukay (Ferozepur
Qazi Tala Muhammad Hafiz Muhammad Ramzan Muhammad Ibrahim Arvi	Peshawar

Sources: Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Tazkara Bazurgan-i-Alavi Sohdara* (Sohdara: 1987). Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Ghaznavi Khandan*, (Karachi: 2003), and; *Urdu Muaaraf Islamiyya*, Vol.7, 888-90.

The Table shows that the students of the *madrasa* belonged to diverse regions of Eastern Punjab (Amritsar, Ferozepur, and Ropar), Central Punjab (Lahore, Gujranwala, and Wazirabad) and the North Westen Frontier Province (Peshawar and Hazara).[406] More, importantly, ulamā like Hafiz Abdul Mannan, Maulana Ghulam Nabi, Maulana Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi to name only a few developed their separate *Ahl-i-Hadith* seminaries in the region. It shows that how the network of the *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s had begun to expand between 1880's and 1920's.

One of the major functions that the *madrasa* performed was the dissemination of teachings of Ibn Taymiyya.[407] Ata Ullah Hanif Bhojiani, in the introduction to the biography of Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi, informs us that Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi and Abdul Wahid Ghaznavi, the sons of Abdullah Ghaznavi made sustained efforts to disseminate the teachings of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.[408] Abdul Jabbar himself carried on the work of Abdullah Ghaznavi and paid particular attention to the task of publishing books and pamphlets on Salafia Islam in Urdu and Persian. After the partition of India,

[405] Abdul Jabbar, *Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi*, p 22.
[406] The region where the districts of Peshawar and Hazara were located remained a part of the province of British Punjab between 1849 and 1901. In 1901 the British carved out the Pakhtoon majority belt from Punjab and constituted it as a separate province of North West Frontier.
[407] Abdul Jabbar, *Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi*, 26-27.
[408] Ata Ullah Hanif Bhojiani, in Abdul Jabbar, *Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi*, 5.

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name was changed as Darul Uloom Taqwiyat-ul-Iman.[409]

2.4.2 Ferozepur

The district of Ferozepur is located almost 100 kilometers from Amritsar and more than 430 kilometers from Delhi. In the district, Jamia Muhammadiyya Lakhukay (est.1850) became one of the most influential centers of dissemination of teachings of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Lakhukay Ibrahim, a town located ten miles towards the South of Ferozpur. The scholars like Barak Ullah (d.1872), Hafiz Muhammad (1806—1893), Abdul Qadir Lakhvi (1836—1895), Muhammad Hussain Lakhvi (d.1945), and Abdullah Bhojaini (1902—1947) played major roles in the development of the *madrasa*.

Hafiz Barak Ullah was among the pioneers of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect in the region.[410] Initially, he was under the influence of the traditional Sunni school of thought.[411] In 1830 he came under the influence of *Jihad* movement. Mufti Ghulam Sarwar, the author of a number of histories of Muslim religious sects of Punjab, wrote about a religious debate between Barak Ullah and Sajjada Nashinhs of Qasur. In the debate, the former challenged the notion of *Nida-i-Ghaib Ya Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani Shaiun Lillah* (O Abdul Qadir Jilani help us for the sake of God). The adherents of Shrine-centered Islam used to recite these words.[412] As the teachings of Barak Ullah contained puritanical streaks that caused a strong reaction among the local sufis of tehsil Qasur and other surrounding areas.[413] On account of these activities, he was labeled as Wahabi. He founded the *madrasa* in the early 1850's, which was one of the earliest *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s in colonial Punjab.

However, his son, Hafiz Muhammad who remained at the helm of the *madrasa* till his death in 1893, is credited with infusing a new lease of life into the *madrasa*. He is regarded as the real founder of the institution. He was one of the star pupils of Madrassa-i-Nazziriyya Delhi. He made a trenchant criticism against the following of any of the four established schools of jurisprudence.

Hafiz Muhammad patterned the *madrasa* in accordance with *Madrasa* Naziriyya and placed particular emphasis on *Hadith* and related branches of

[409] Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht*, 286.
[410] Mufti Ghulam Sarwar, *Tareekh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab* (Lahore: Dost Associates, 1996), 99-100.
[411] Before embracing the ideology of Ahl-i-Hadith he had written *Nisab-ul-fiqh* (that became famous as *Anwah Barak Ullah*).
[412] Ghulam Sarwar, *Tareekh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, 99-100.
[413] *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar*, March 18, 1921, 8.

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Qanin-i-Sarf and Hashia Abu Daud Sharif.[415] All these areas were closely related to the teaching-learning process in the *madrasa*.

The competent scholars of *Hadith* and *tafsir* (exegesis) like Maulana Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi (d-1894), Maulana Abdul Qadir Lakhvi (1834-1924) and Maulana Ata Ullah Lakhvi (1882-1952) taught hundreds of students and preached the ideology of the movement.[416] Thus teaching remained one of its major claims to fame. How the institution had assumed significance as one of the premier *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s can amply be gauged by the letter that Sayed Nazir Hussain wrote to Hafiz Muhammad for the admission of Abdul Ghani Delhvi in *Madrasa* Muhammadiyya Lakhukay.[417]

Table 2.4 lists the names of famous students and scholars that *madrasa* had produced.

Table 2.4: The Brilliant Students of *Jamia Muhammadiyya* Lakhukay (Ferozepur)

Name of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar	Area/ district
Muhammad Saleem bin Hafiz Barak Ullah Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi bin Hafiz Muhammad Lakhvi Maulana Abdul Qadir Lakhvi (Nephew and son in law of Muhammad Lakhvi) Abdul Rehman Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi Maulana Muhammad Hasan Lakhvi Muhammad Hussain Lakhvi Maulana Ata Ullah bin Abdul Qadir Lakhvi Moin-ud-Din Lakhvi	Lakhukay (Ferozepur)
Hafiz Abdul Mannan	Wazirabad (Gujranwala)
Muhammad Hussain Batalvi	Batala (Gurdaspur)
Qazi Muhammad Hayat Gul	Haripur (Hazara)
Hafiz Muhammad Yousaf Abdul Ghani Kaleervi Khuda Baksh Kaleervi	Amritsar
Maulana Ghulam Nabi	Sohdra (Gujranwala)
Abdul Haqq	Maleer Kotla
Maulana Rahim Baksh	Lahore
Maulana Abdullah	Bahawalpuri
Maulana Abdul Jabbar Khandhilvi	Kandhala (town of district Shamli in UP)
Maulana Ata-ul-Rehman Bhojiani Maulana Muhammad Bhojiani Maulana Abdullah Bhojiani Maulana Ata Ullah Hanif Bhojiani	(Bhojian) Amritsar
Maulana Fateh Muhammad	Talah Gang (Chakwal)
Ata Ullah Budhimalvi Hafiz Abdullah Budhimalvi	Budhimali (a town in district Ferozepur)
Elahi Baksh	Kaleer Kalan (Gurdaspur)
Abdul Ghani Delhvi	Delhi
Maulana Abdul Wahab Multani	Multan
Maulana Abdul Sammad	Rajowal (Julundar)

Sources: Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Barr-i-Saghir mein Ulamā-i-Ahl-i-Hadith kay Ilmi Karnamay*. Ibrahim Khaleel, *Alfayuz-ul-Muhammadiyya* .

[414] Ibrahim Khaleel, *Alfayuz-ul-Muhammadiyya*, 109.
[415] Ibid.
[416] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Barr-i-Saghir mein Ulamā-i-Ahl-i-Hadith kay Ilmi Karnamay* (Lahore: Ilm-o-Irfan Publishers, 2001), 184.
[417] Ibid., 112-114.

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the Lakhvi family who was trained at the *madrasa*. The Table shows that how the students belonging to far-flung areas of Punjab like Multan, Chakwal, and Hazara (Haripur) [that was incorporated in the newly created province of North West Frontier after 1901] received religious education at this *madrasa*.

The organizers of the *madrasa* like particularly Muhammad Hussain devoted their energies to the publication work. He wrote a book in poetic prose entitled *Maha'mad-ul-Islam* (Characteristics of Islam) in which he has strongly contested the views of Sayed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) relating *Nabuwwat* and miracles. It was meant to make the teachings of the movement communicable to the broad mass of the population who did not understand the Urdu language. He wrote a number of other books like *Tafsir-i-Muhammadi, Zeenat-ul-Islam, and Sabeel-ul-Irshad* to counter the views of *Barelvi*'s.

The teachers and students of the seminary like Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi, Muhammad Hasan Lakhvi, and Abdul Rehman Lakhvi also remained proactively in the campaigns against *Ahmadiyya* sect. They endorsed the *fatawā* Muhammad Hussain Batalvi in 1890's against Ghulam Ahmad.[418]

Table 2.5: The Organizers/Teachers of *Jamia Muhammadiyya* after the Death of Hafiz Muhammad

Name of the Organizer	His Period of Association with *Madrasa*
Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi	He remained associated with the *madrasa* for more than thirty-five years. He served as organizer of *madrasa* between 1893 and 1895.
Abdul Qadir Lakhvi	He taught at the *madrasa* between 1870's and 1924 until his death.
Muhammad Hussain Lakhvi (son of Hafiz Muhammad)	He served as patron, organizer, and teacher until his death in 1945.
Hafiz Ata Ullah Lakhvi	He earned the title of *Muhadith*-i-Punjab. He taught at the *madrasa* till 1947 until partition and later migrated to Pakistan and re-organized the *madrasa* in Okara, a tehsil of Sahiwal district, where the *madrasa* was re-located.

Source: Muhammad Ibrahim Khaleel, *Alfayuz-ul-Muhammadiya* (Hujra Shah Muqeem, Okara: Al-Maktabat-ul-Aziziya, 1984).

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[418] Ibid., 121-23

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Hussain Lakhvi (son of Hafiz Muhammad) and Hafiz Ata Ullah Lakhvi deserve particular mention. Muhammad Hussain got his *sanad-i-hadith* from Nazir Hussain. He is considered a leading authority on *manqulat* and *ma'qulat*. After the departure of Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi to Macca for offering Hajj, all the responsibilities of the running the *madrasa* fell on him.[419] He made long tours of different cities of Punjab like Lahore, Qasur, Montgomery (Sahiwal), Lyallpur, Ferozepur, and Amritsar) for preaching the doctrine of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. He launched fund-raising campaigns for the *Madrasa*.[420] The Jamia Muhammadiyya earned considerable fame under the stint of Hafiz Ata Ullah Lakhvi (1905-1952) as the patron of the *madrasa*. The *madrasa* was re-located from Lakhokay in East Punjab to Okara in West Punjab after the partition.[421] The *madrasa* had a profound impact in spreading the influence of the movement in the neighboring tehsil Qasur.[422] How the *madrasa* had assumed central importance in Punjab can amply be gauged by the fact that the district of Ferozepur had the large concentration of *Ahl-i-Hadith* population as compared to any other district in Punjab. Table 2.6 shows the concentration of population of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab based on Census of India 1911.

Table 2.6: The Concentration of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Districts and States of Colonial Punjab in 1911

Name of District	Population of *Ahl-i-Hadith*	Name of District	Population of *Ahl-i-Hadith*	Name of District/State	Population of *Ahl-i-Hadith*
Hisar	53	Sialkot	3,215	Multan	1,302
Delhi	519	Gujranwala	3,541	Muzaffagarh	152
Hosiarpur	469	Gujrat	55	Dera Ghazi Khan	30
Jullundur	291	Shahpur	261	Kalsia State	98
Ludhiana	600	Jhelum	310	Kapurthala	173
Ferozepur	7,816	Rawalpindi	76	Maleerkotla	240
Lahore	6,708	Montgomery	1,870	Patiala	547
Amritsar	4,225	Lyallpur	2.360	Nabha	32
Gurdaspur	4,512	Jhang	35	-------	----

Source: Census of India, 1911, Vol. 14, Punjab, part. 1, 168.

The Table shows that four districts of Punjab like Amritsar, Ferozepur, Gurdaspur, Gujranwala, and Lahore had a heavy concentration of population of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and among them, Ferozepur district had the largest concentration of population. One can attribute it to the critical role that *Jamia Muhammadiyya*

[419] Ibid., 193-198.
[420] Ibid., 180-82.
[421] Mahnama Mu*hadith*, January 2002, 31.
[422] Abdul Ghafor, *Tazkarat-ul-Ibrar* (Qasur: Maktaba Arsalan, 1998), 5. Qasur was elevated to status of district in 1970's

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Punjab but part of the province of Uttar Pradesh(UP).[423] The purpose of its inclusion is to show that though the movement had sprung up from Delhi it had more profound influences in the territories of Punjab, and among the districts of the latter, the district of Ferozepur became a strong hub of the movement.

2.4.3 Gujranwala

Until now, we have weaved into our narrative the brief historical account of the *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s of Delhi, Amritsar, and Ferozepur. Let us move on from East Punjab to West Punjab. Among the districts of West Punjab Gujranwala became one of the influential centers of dissemination of ideological influences of the movement. Two important *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars Abdul Manan Wazirabadi and Ghulam Nabi Sodhri who trained from *Madrasa-i-Naziriyya* (Dehli) and *Madrasa* Ghaznaviyya Salafia (Amritsar) became the major carriers of the influences of the movement in the region. I argue in the section along with influential work of Abdul Manan Wazirabadi and Ghulam Nabi Sodhri that the geographical location of Gujranwala which was adjacent to the districts of Sheikhupura, Lahore, Sialkot, and Lyalpur was quite instrumental in spreading the seeds of the movement in the [present] central Punjab.[424] We move from Eastern to West. Ata Muhammad Qanungo in his book *Tareekh-i-Gujranwala* represents that *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā were busy in the art of disseminating puritan ideas.[425] The sub-section historicizes the role of four important *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s that were established in the Gujranwala district these include: Ghulam Rasul's Seminary at Qila Mihan Singh, *Jamia Muhammadiyya* Gujranwala, *Dar-ul-Hadith Hamidiyya* Sohdara (a town located at the distance of 34 kilometers from Gujranwala), and Darul Hadith Wazirabad (a tehsil of Gujranwala).

Ghulam Rasul's Seminary at Qila Mihan Singh (Gujranwala)

The seminary of Maulana Ghulam Rasul which was named after its founder was one of the earliest institutions of dissemination of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* teachings. He was born in 1812 in Kot Bhawani Das, a village in Gujranwala district. After receiving his early religious education in Gujranwala and Lahore he moved to Delhi in the 1850's and obtained Sanad-i-Hadith from *Madrasa*-i-Naziriyya in 1862. He

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[423] The British Government made Delhi the capital of India in December 1911. Thus it was separated from UP.

[424] The districts of Lahore and Shiehkhupura are located at the distance of 54 and 70 kilometers. The distance between Gujranwala and Lyallpur is 133 kilometers, where as Sialkot district is located at distance of 49 kilometers.

[425] Ata Muhammad Qanungo , *Tareekh-i-Gujranwala* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Tabsara, 1985), 14-15.

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visited as a guest preacher before forming his own setup at Mihan Singh. After his departure from Lahore, he also stayed in Amritsar for several months and addressed huge gatherings in this city.[427]

He founded the seminary presumably in mid-1850's and in spite of its humble origins shot into fame in a quick span of time. The British government suspected his involvement in the Mutiny of 1857 and kept a vigilant watch on his activities. Therefore, he was confined to his ancestral home at Qlia Mihan Singh.[428] During the last years of his life, Ghulam Rasul was termed as Wahabi because he had never uttered a single word in condemnation of Wahabism.[429]

Ghulam Rasul was considered an erudite scholar of *tafsir*, *Hadith*, logic, philosophy, *fiqh* and other prevalent branches of knowledge. These include *Fatawā-i-Ghulam Rasul, Risala-i-Tarawih, Tafsir Surah Fatih, Pakki Roti, Huliya Hazrat Muhammad, Qissa Hazrat Bilal,* and *Majmuah Namaz*.[430] The hallmark of his work was that he several of the works in the Punjabi language to propagate the teachings Quran and *Hadith* so as to make them communicable to the ordinary people.

The seminary that Ghulam Rasul had established had humble origins. Initially, it accommodated about twenty to thirty students who belonged to different towns and cities of colonial Punjab. Thus the *madrasa* also functioned as a kind of boarding school. The tablet 2.7 lists a number of bright pupils that the *madrasa* had produced.

Table 2.7: Famous Students of Ghulam Rasul's Seminary at Qila Mihan Singh

Area/ district	Name of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar
Maulana Ala-ud-Din Muhammad Ali Hafiz Gohar	Gujranwala
Maulana Muhammad	Village Bukkan (Gujranwala)
Muhammad Usman	Fatehgarh Churian (Gurdaspur)
Maulana Qutb-ud-Din	Ferozepur
Maulana Mahmud Shah	Haripur (Hazara)
Maulana Badr-ud-Din	Sialkot
Maulana Ahmad Ali	Kot Bhavanidas (Gujranwala)
Hafiz Wali Ullah	Lahore
Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad	Shahpur

Source: Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab*, 2: 817. Maulana Abdul Qadir, *Sawanih Hayat Ghulam Rasul* (Gujranwala: Faisal Book Depot, 1930.

426 The section 2.3.4 provides more details about this aspect.
427 Ibid.
428 The work of Ghulam Sarwar informs us that Noor Ahmad, a local *maulvi* of Mihan Singh had informed the British Government through a Christian missionary Forman that Ghulam Rasul had instigated the people for jihad.
429 Ghulam Sarwar, *Tareekh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, 276-77.
430 Abdul Qadir, *Sawanih Hayat Ghulam Rasul*, 99-150.

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the movement in the regions of East Punjab (Ferozepur and Gurdaspur), Central Punjab (Gujranwala, Sialkot Lahore, Shahpur, and Jhang), and Haripur (Hazara district).

A conspicuous feature of the *madrasa* of Ghulam Rasul was that it preached moderation in the religious affairs. He called for moderation in the matters of *taqleed* and *ijtihad*. Akhtar Rahi in his work *Tazkara-i-Ulamā-i-Punjab* has mentioned an incident that shows his maintained a moderate demeanor throughout that:

> Once Ghulam Rasul was busy delivering a lecture, someone asked him a question regarding the righteousness of *Muqalid* and *Ghair-i-muqalid*. He replied that he would like to elaborate on it with an example of four small streams sprouting from it. These rivulets received water from the same source—the lake. A person who drinks water from any of these rivulets is actually consuming the water of the same lake. However, the only difference could be that some people may be using water directly from the main source of the lake, whereas the others would be consuming water of different rivulets. Then he extrapolated the metaphorical meaning to the issue of *Taqleed* and *Adm Taqleed*. Those who followed the former sought to take advice from one of the four Imam of *fiqh*, whereas the non-conformists consulted directly from the Tradition of the Holy Prophet in the matters of jurisprudence.[431]

One can find a close similarity between this attitude and approach of Shah Waliullah. Ghulam Rasul taught his followers not to label anyone infidel on the basis of differences in the maters of *fiqh*.[432]

Jamia Muhammadiyya Gujranwala

Maulana Ala-ud-Din (d-1920) was one of the earliest carriers of the influences of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. He started preaching *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideology in the Mosque Chowk Niayan. After his death, Muhammad Ismail Salafi (1895-1968) started delivering *Juma* sermons in the mosque. He founded Jamia Muhammadiyya Gujranwala in 1921. Thus the *madrasa* had its beginning in the mosque at Mosque Chowk Niayan.[433] Maulana Ismail Salafi was one of the star pupils of Hafiz Abdul Mannan Wazirabadi. He studied *Sihah Sitta* from Hafiz Abdul Mannan. Then, he became a pupil of Mufti Muhammad Hasan Amritsari (1885-1961)[434] and Muhammad Ibrahim Mir Sialkoti.

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[431] The other scholars of Ahl-i-Hadith hold different opinion. For instance, Ishaque Bhatti (d.2015) , wrote in …. That the the Traditions of the Holy Prophet would always be given precedence over the rulings of the Imams.

[432] Ibid.

[433] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, "Waliullahi Silsila Kay Madars wo Jamiaat," *Mahnama Muhadith*, (January 2002): 35.

[434] He was originally belonged to Attock. After attaining primary religious education, he travelled to Amritsar where he studied under Sayed Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi. He also went to Deoband where he arrived at the conclusion that he would remain attached with Traditional Hanafi School of thought. But

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teachers Muhammad Ibrahim and Sana Ullah Amritsari urged him to devote his life to the mission.

As mentioned earlier the *madrasa* had humble origins. It was opened in the mosque at Mosque Chowk Niayan. Two departments --*Tahfeez-ul-Quran* and Uloom-ul-Islamia were created to impart religious education. The institution became so important that *Jamiat Tanzim Ahl-i-Hadith* Punjab that was founded on July 13, 1930, in Kameerpur brought it under its control.[435] After the death of Muhammad Ismail Salafi, *Madrasa* Jamia Muhammadiyya was shifted at G.T Road in a glorious building.[436]

Table 2.8: Some Famous Students studied Jamia Muhammadiyya Gujranwala

Area/ district	**Name of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar**
Maulana Muhammad Hanif Nadvi	Gujranwala
Hakim Abdullah Khan	Sohdra (Gujranwala)
Hafiz Abdullah Hafiz Ahmad Ullah	Budhimali
Maulana Abdul Rehman Maulana Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi	Lakhukay (Ferozepur)
Maulana Muhammad Afzal	Farid Kot
Maulana Muhammad Khalid Girjakhi	
Maulana Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti	Lahore
Professor Qazi Maqbool Ahmad	
Maulana Muhammad Ramzan Salafi	

Source: Sadia Arshad, *Makhdom-ul-Ulamā Maulana Muhammad Ismail Salafi* (Head of Ulamā Maulana Muhammad Ismail Salafi), (Lahore: Darul Dawaat *Salafia*, 2002). Abdul Rashid Iraqi, "Waliullahi Silsila Kay Madaras wo Jamiaat," 35.

Table 2.8 shows that the majority of the bright students of the *madrasa* belonged to districts of Gujranwala, Sialkot, and Lahore. Even Maulana Muhiy-ud-Din Lakhvi who belonged to Lahkvi family of Lakhukay (Ferozepur) remained one of the bright pupils of the institutions. It also attests the importance of the madraa as one the primier instutuins that impareted training to the scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith* as Lakhvi family it self had been one of the most influential religious school of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab. The Table also mentions the name of Ishaq Bhatti (d.2015) who was one of

he also got popularity among the *Ahl-i-Hadith* because he was not staunch critique of them. After partition, he started Jamia Ashrafiya Lahore. Also see Sadia Arshad, *Maulana Muhammad Ismail Salafi*, 138-141.

[435] Sadia Arshad, *Makhdom-ul-Ulamā Maulana Muhammad Ismail Salafi,* (Head of *Ulamā* Maulana Muhammad Ismail Salafi), (Lahore: Darul Dawaat Salafiya, 2002), 78-79. Maulana Muhammad Sharif was nominated its first Amir through a unanimous decision. Maulana Muhammad Ismail Salafi, Hafiz Muhammad Gondalvi, and Maulana Muhammad Abdullah remained Shaikh-ul-Jamia turn by turn.[435]

[436] Muhammad Aslam, *Tahreek-i-Ahl-i-Hadith: Tareekh kay Ainay Mein*, 504.

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Aihtasam, a monthly magazine of the movement for more than three decades.

Muhammad Ismail Salafi earned fame as a charismatic preacher and skilled religious orator. He started Dars-i-Quran in his mosque and it continued for more than forty-seven years. Daily audiences were no fewer than two hundred and in Ramazan, their number reached five to six hundred. His Friday sermons attracted a large audience. People from far off places reached his mosque to listen to his *Juma* sermons. Thus he was able to win a large number of converts to the *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect.

The historians of *Ahl-i-Hadith* accredit him of popularizing the ideology of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Gujranwala.[437] Sadia informs us that at the time of opening the seminary, there were only seven followers of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Gujranwala and they were only one mosque in the entire city but due to his incessant efforts for the cause of the movement the network *Ahl-i-Hadith* mosques spread exponentially and briefly before his death in 1968, the number of *Ahl-i-Hadith* mosques had risen to 54.[438]

Dar-ul-Hadith Hamidiyya Sohdari (Gujranwala)

Ghulam Nabi Sohdari, one of the outstanding teachers of *Ahl-i-Hadith* founded Dar-ul-Hadith Hamidiyya in 1905. He was born in a village Panda in 1847 (a town in district Gujrat). His father Mahbob Alim was a learned person. Ghulam Nabi got his early education from his father who paid special attention to the religious education of his son. In the meanwhile, the whole family was shifted to Sohdara.[439]

Ghulam Nabi had the distinction of receiving education from the leading teachers and scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith* like Maulana Qadir Baksh Wazirabadi, Maulana Abdul Baqi Jalalpuri, Sayed Nazir Hussain, Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi, and Hafiz Muhammad Lakhvi. It shows that he had unquenchable thrust for religious knowledge. After attaining early education from his father, he went to Wazirabad to

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[437] Sadia Arshad, *Maulana Muhammad Ismail Salafi*, 11-13.

[438] Sadia writes that a few days before his death he had inaguratred a new mosque that was the fifty-fourth mosque of Ahl-i-Hadith in the city.

[439] Sohdar is a town in district Gujranwala on the left side of the River Chenab. It is an old town dated back Mahmud Ghaznavi. In 1901 its population was about 5050. For detailed description about this town see Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series Punjab, Vol. II, p.107. Also see. Mufti Ghulam Sarwar, *Tareek-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab*, pp. 286-87.

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fiqh, Usul-i-fiqh, and īlm-ul-Kalām. Then he traveled to Jalalpur and became an ardent disciple of Maulana Abdul Baqi Jalalpuri. After a few months, he went to Sialkot where he studied important religious texts like *Hashia Khayali, Mutawal, Taozih Mutawal Tafsir Bazavi, and Dars-i-Hadith*.[440] Then he got himself enrolled in *Madrasa*-i-Naziriyya to acquire knowledge of Hadith and earned fame as one of the bright pupils of Sayed Nazir Hussain who was considered as one of the foremost authority on Hadith literature. After getting *sanad-i-Hadith* from *Madrasa*-i-Naziriyya he moved to Amritsar and Lakhukay to become a student of two very famous scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith*-- Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi and Hafiz Muhammad Lakhvi.[441]

After spending more than one decade in acquiring religious education he returned to his own village Sohdara and preached the doctrine of *Ahl-i-Hadith* for many years. He established *Dar-ul-Hadith Hamidiyya.*[442] The prominent scholars that the *madrasa* produced included: Maulana Nizam-ud-Din Kathorvi[443], Hafiz Muhammad Hayat, Maulana Abu-ul-Mahmud Hidayat Ullah, Maulana Abu Yahya Imam Khan Noshervi[444], Maulana Murad Ali Kathorvi (d-1968)[445] and Maulana Abdul Aziz.

Besides the pioneering work of Ghulam Nabi Sodhri for the *madrasa* his son Maulana Abdul Hameed (1882-1912), contributed enormously to the growth of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in the territories of Gujranwala and Sialkot. He also worked for the development of the *madrasa* and built a student hostel for those who came from far-flung regions to study in the *madrasa*.

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[440] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Tazkara-i-Bazurgan-i-Alvi Sohdara*, pp. 46-47.
[441] Abdul Haiy, *Nuzat-ul-Khawater* 8 Vos. (Karachi: Noor Muhammad Karkhana Tijarat, 1976), 8:351.
[442] Abdul Rashid, *Tazkara-i-Bazurgan-i-Alvi Sohdara*, pp. 58-59.
[443] He was the first-born son of a well-to-do Malik Bholay Khan of Sohdara. Based on his personal influence the whole of his family converted to *Ahl-i-Hadith* cult.
[444] Abu Yahya Imam Khan was a prominent figure who wrote *Tarajum-i-Ahl-i-Hadith* and *Hindustan mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Ilmi Khidmat*.
[445] Maulana Abu al-Bashir Murad Ali was also an outstanding person of Kakayzai family. He focused on the puritanical ideas of Imam Ibn Taymiyya. He wrote a book named *Azan-i-Islam* (Call for Islam). After that, he translated *Kitab-ul-Waseela* of Ibn Taymiyya into Urdu language. He wrote *Irshad-ul-Sunnat* which is primarily a translation of *Ahlam-ul;-Moavaqeen* of Imam Taymiyya.

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preaching the puritanical ideology of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.[446] He tried to create awareness against what the *Ahl-i-Hadith* called receding into customary practices which the ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* termed as *shirāk* (polytheism) and *bid'at* (innovations). These teachings triggered a strong reaction of locals who were the followers of Shrine-centred Islam. Undeterred by the opposition, he kept on articulating his views and soon built up a considerable following. But the opposition of the local maulvis could not deter him from artic his views and sizeable following. Particularly, he brought the whole of Kakayzai family into the fold of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect. One hundred and fifty people of *Kakayzai* affixed their signature on the agreement that they would follow the teachings of Islam and remain simple in rituals. They would never violate the rules of the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah* in their daily lives. After taking this oath they obeyed it while conducting their marriages as well as in death relating observance.[447] As a result of his persuasion, the whole family vowed that, for example, in their ceremonies regarding marriage and death. The adjoining areas particularly the nearest village of Talvara also came into their sphere of influence.

He also devoted attention to the religious education the large of women. During the conversation with females, he covered his face with his turban. This showed his strict adherence to the precepts of *sharī'at*. Abdul Hameed passed away at the age of thirty in 1912. After his death, his father continued teaching at *Dar-ul-Hadith Hamidiyya*

Darul Hadith Wazirabad

Darul Hadith Wazirabad was founded by Hafiz Abdul Mannan Wazirabadi in the year 1878 in Jamia Masjid *Ahl-i-Hadith* Wazirabad.[448] It was primarily initiated by Shaikh Ghulam Nabi and Mir Haider Khanpuri. They were disciples of Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi. Hafiz Abdul Mannan, after obtaining *sanad-i-Hadith* from Sayed Nazir

[446] Like his father Abdul Hameed had a great thirst for knowledgw. He seized all the available opportunities of getting excellent religious education from the foremost aythorities on Quran and Hadith, like his Ghulam Nabi, his father, Hafiz Abdul Mannan, Sayed Nazir Hussain Ashiq Hussain Dianvi Azimabadi and Shaikh Hussain bin Mohsin Ansari, a learned scholar of Hadith from Yemen, whom Nawab Sadiq Hasan had invited as a guest preacher in Bhopal. He got married to the Hafiz Abdul Mannan.

[447] Kakayzai Social Reformer in Abdul Rashid, *Tazkara-i-Bazurgan-i-Alvi Sohdara*, p. 62.

[448] Mahnama Mu*hadith*, January 2002, p. 32.

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remained directly associated with Sayed Abdullah Ghaznavi and Ghulam Rasul Qalvi.[450]

Afterwards, he made Masjid Purani Sarai Wazirabad as his headquarter for religious purification. He was just twenty-four years old when he started teaching *Hadith*.[451] He had to face many difficulties while launching the *madrasa*.[452] The entire city was under the strong influence of *Hanafite Ulamā*. With the establishment of the institution, the local reacted very strongly. They resorted to the social boycott of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. They labeled followers of Abdul Mannan as Wahabi. In addition to these, the organizers of the *madrasa* had to face severe financial constraints as there was no permanent source of funding for the *madrasa*.[453] There was no permanent source of income to meet the daily expenses of the *madrasa*. Hafiz Abdul Mannan had to depend on the donation of the affluent people and most of the donations came from the other provinces of India.[454]

Let us move from the challenges that organizers of *madrasa* had to face, to the pedagogical methods that were employed in the *madrasa*. The classes of *Bukhari Sharif* and *Sihah* were held at Darul *Hadith*.[455] One of the conspicuous features of the *madrasa* was that it had an excellent library that contained several rare books. The *madrasa* assumed such an importance among the *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa* that the All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference chose the Darul *Hadith* as the venue for holding one of its religious conferences.

Abdul Manan taught at the *madrasa* for almost forty years. Muhammad Nazir, one of his pupils recalls Abdul Mannan while addressing the completion ceremony of *Bukhari* Sharif informed the audience that it was the hundredth time he had taught *Bukhari* and taught *Sihah* for seventy-two times.[456] Table 2.9 lists the names of some bright students of the *madrasa*.

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[449] Fazal Hussain, *Al-Hayat Bahd al-Mamat*, p.359.
[450] Abdul Majeed, *Ustad-i-Punjab*, 87-88, 92.
[451] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Tazkara Hafiz Abdul Mannan Wazirabadi* (Wazirabad: Edara Ahya-i-Taraas Ahl-i-Sunnat, 2001), 31.
[452] Abdul Majeed , *Ustad-i-Punjab*, 93.
[453] Ibid., pp. 91-92.
[454] Ibid., pp. 103-104.
[455] Ibid., p. 96.
[456] Muhammad Sultan Ahmad, *Husnul Bayan fi Sawanih Shaikh Abdul Mannan* (Guranwala: Nawab-ud-Din Khushnawis, n.d), p. 7.

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Area/ district	Name of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar
Sana Ullah Amritsari	Amritsar
Abdul Hameed Abdul Hakeem Hafiz Muhammad	Sohdara (Gujranwala)
Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti	Sialkot
Mian Muhammad Baqar	Lyallpur
Abul Qasim Saif	Shahpur
Muhammad Ali	Lahore
Maulana Faqir Ullah Madrasi	Madras
Maulana Muhammad Ali Lakhvi Maulana Abdul Qadir Lakhvi	Ferozepur
Hafiz Muhammad Gondalvi Muhammad Ismail Salafi	Gujranwala

Source: Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Tazkara Hafiz Abdul Mannan Wazirabadi* (Wazirabad: Edara Ahya-i-Taraas Ahl-i-Sunnat, 2001). Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Barr-i-Saghir mein Ulamā-i-Ahl-i-Hadith kay Ilmi Karnamay*. Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-i-Ulamā-i-Punjab,*1:358-60.

The Table shows that some of the most renowned *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars Sana Ullah Amritsari, Abdul Hameed Sodhri, Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti, Maulana Muhammad Ali Lakhvi, Maulana Abdul Qadir Lakhvi, and Muhammad Ismail Salafi had studied at the *madrasa*.

Hafiz Abdul Manan died in 1916. Hafiz Umar Din was appointed as the patron of the institution. He continued teaching at the Darul *Hadith* until his death in 1942. The work of Abdul Majeed provides names of a number of scholars and teachers and *Khatibs* that remained associated with the *madrasa* from 1942 onwards till 1961. These included: Maulana Ahmad-ud-Din Gakharvi, Maulana Hafiz Ismail, Maulana Muhammad Abdullah Alvi, Maulana Abdullah Muzaffargarh, and Maulana Muhammad Abdullah Kalasvi. They performed the duties of teaching the students along with *khitabat* in due course of time since 1961.[457]

2.5: The Reaction of Barelvi *Ulama* against the *Ahl-i-Hadith*

In the previous section that provided brief biographical sketches of prominent *ulama* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and their role in the spread of the ideology of the movement through a network of *madrasa*s mainly in Central Punjab. It mentioned the reaction of the local *ulama*, mainly the Barelvis, in passing. As we already explained in the Introduction of the enquiry that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement pursued a well-thought-out strategy to purge the Shrine-centered Islam of what it coniderd as frivolities and influences of hetrodoxies. The the ulama of *Ahl-i-Hadith* became increasingly vocal

[457] Abdul Majeed , *Ustad-i-Punjab*, pp. 152-156.

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istamdad, *tawiz*, *niaz*, *urs* ceremony, *qawwāli*, and *milad* etc. They rejected these practices as *shirk* and *bidah*. Quite understandably the clash of the two sects exacerbated sectarian tensions.

It would be relevant to discuss the issues in more details. In Punjab where *Ahl-i-Hadith* Ulama settled and started practising their own way of prayers and spreading their ideology, it aroused bitter opposition particularly from the followers from Shrine-centerd Islam which constitued majority of Muslim population. They began to brand the *Ahl-i-Hadith* as 'Wahabi' and *Ghair-i-Muqallid* (rejecters of taqlid/ non-conformists) as the latter were bitter critics of blind following.[458] The Barelvi ulama and Sufis of the Punjab came forward for the defense of their prevailing Shrine-centered Islam Ulama. Ahmad Raza Khan (1856-1921), the pioneer of Barelvi movement emerged as the foremost exponent of the reaction protagonists of the Shrine-centered Islam against the Ahl-i-Haith and Deobandi movements. He perceived the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement as a threat/ challenge to traditional Islam and strongly condemned its puritanical streaks. Ahmad Raza travelled to Lahore for promoting the ideology of the movement and to train a group of ulama to respond to the challenges the Bralvis faced in the mid of onslaught of the new ideology of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement. Among them were Ghulam Dastagir Qasuri, Ghulam Qadir Bhervi, Zakir Hussain Bugvi, Muhammad Baksh Halvai, and Mehrum Ali Chishti.[459]

A majority of the prominent pirs and *gaddi-nashins* of the Punjab reacted in the similar vein. Their writings and malfuzat of pir like Khawaja Shams-ud-Din Sialvi (1799-1883), Pir Jama'at Ali Shah Alipuri (1834-1951) and Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi (1859-1937) provide explicit details about the reaction of the Barelvi *ulama* against the *Ahl-i-Hadith*. They asked their followers to be skeptical about the onslaught of Ahi-i-Hadith on Shrine-centered Islam. In their daily sermons pointed out the coomon pitfall of the teachings of *Ahl-i-Hadith* for the beliefs of followers of the traditional Sunni Islam. Khawaja Shams-ud-Din Sialvi advised his devotees to boycott the

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[458] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodian of Change* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), 24. Also see Sana Ullah Amritsari, *Ahl-i-Hadith ka Mazhab* (Chechawatni, Pakistan: Maktaba Muhammadiyya, 2006), 58.

[459] Majeed Ullah, *Imam Ahmad Raza aur Ulamā-i-Lahore* (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1999), 12.

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sermons in a work entitled as *Mirat-ul-Ashiqeen*, which voiced scathing criticism on *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideas about the Shrine-centered Islam.[461] Pir Mehr Ali Shah in his *malfuzat* also followed the same line of argumentation.[462]

The followers of Shrine-centered Islam established a number of *anjumans* and organizations between 1887 and 1923 to counterpoise the *Ahl-i-Hadith* criticism and to promote the ideology of the Barelvi movement. Table 2.10 lists a number of organizations that were established during the period.

Table 2.10: The Prominent Organization Braelvi's established between 1887 and 1923 to counterpoise *Ahl-i-Hadith* Propaganda

The Name of the Organization	The Year of Establishment	The Name of Founder
Anjuman Naumania (Lahore)	1887	Mahram Ali Chishti
Anjuman Khuddām-ul-Sūfīya (organization of the servants of Sufis)	1904	Jama'at Ali Shah in 1904
Jamiat-ul-Ahnaf (Amritsar)	1923	Ahmad Ali Shah Batalvi

Source: Akhtar Hussain, *Serat-i-Ameer-i-Millat* (Lahore: Ameer-i-Millat Publications, 2008), 511. Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-I-Ahl-i-Hadith* Vol. II, 491, and Abdul Hakim, *Tazkara-i-Aka'abar-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat* (Greatest Men of Ahl-i-Sunnat), 50.

The establishment of the anjumans/organizations listed in Table 2.10 shows that while the perceving threat from the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement the protagonists of Shrine-centered Isalm had strated making concerted efforts to counterpoise the infulence of their opponents.

The Brelvis used the agency of press to tackle the challenge of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. We can mention the names of two such publications. For instance, Anjuman *Khuddām-ul-Sūfīya* founded a monthly journal--*Anwār-ul- Sūfīya* and the Barelvi of Amritsar launched a daily newspaper al-Faqih to counter propaganda and criticism of *Ahl-i-Hadith* against Shrine-centered Islam.[463]

On a certain occasion, the reaction of followers of the Shrine-centered Isalm against the *Ahl-i-Hadith ulama* turned quite bitter as it resulted in forced expulsions of

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[460] Muhammad Saeed was son of Haider Shah Zanjani. He remained under the patronage of Khawaja Shams-ud-Din Sialvi for several years. He collected those sermons which were delivered during his presence.

[461] Sayed Muhammad Saeed, Mirat-ul-Ashiqeen (Lahore: Seerut Foundation, 2006), 274-86

[462] Mehr Ali Golrvi, *Malfūzāt-i-Mehria* (Lahore: Pakistan International Printers, 1986).

[463] Akhtar Hussain, *Serat-i-Ameer-i-Millat*,511; Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-I-Ahl-i-Hadith* Vol. II, 491, and; Abdul Hakim, *Tazkara-i-Aka'abar-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat* (Greatest Men of Ahl-i-Sunnat), 50

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specific examples of such incidents. Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri (1826-1889) was banned to offer prayers in the mosque Sarki Bandan Amrritsar. He, therefore, had to build his own mosque *Taid-ul-Islam* in Amritsar.[464] Sultan Mahmud Multani (d-1909), a prominent *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar from South Punjab, had to endure physical torture at the hands of followers of traditional Sunni Isalm on a number of occassions.[465] Though we could not provide exhaustative details of such occurances.Nevertheless, the two specific examples show growing intolerance among the followers of Shrine-centerd Islam against the reformist thrust of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement.

2.6 Syllabus of the *Ahl-i-Hadith Madrasa*s in Punjab

The previous section dealt with the network of *madrasa*s. It would be relevant to discuss the important theme of Syllabus that had been introduced in the *madrasa*s of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. It was different from traditional institutions. This section 2.5.1 shows that the syllabus of *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s was distinctly different from the *madrasa*s like *Madrasa*-i-Rahimiyya, Frangi Mahal, and Deoband. The section 2.5.2 examines the content of syllabus that the *madrasa*s of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had been following. I argue in the section that this syllabus along with the influence of teachers further reinforced the puritanical thrust of the movement.

2.6.1 The Syllabi of Traditional Muslim *Madrasa*s in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century: A Brief Synoptic View

This sub-section places the syllabus that *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s had been offering in the overall context of the curriculum that other *madrasa*s of Muslims like *Madrasa*-i-Rahimmiya, *Madrasa*-i-Farangi Mahal, and *Madrasa*-i-Deoband had been offering. The purpose of making this comparative analysis is to assess that how in and what respects the syllabus of the *madrasa*s of *Ahl-i-Hadith* was different from the other three different models of *madrasa* education of Muslims.

Madrasa-i- Rahimiyya that was founded by Shaikh Abdul Rahim (1644-1718), the father of Shah Wali Ullah in the seventeenth century.Though Shah Wali Ullah was inspired by the the reform movement of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhandi. Therefore, he emphasized the study of *manqulat*. Shah Waliullah was aware of this fact that the

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[464] Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab*, 2 Vols. (Lahore: Maktaba-i- Rehmania, 1998), 1: 404.
[465] Ibid., 208.

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his emphasis on *manqulat*, he tried to strike a balance between *maqulat* and *manqulat*—the rational sciences and scriptural texts. The syllabus of *Madrasa-i-Rahimiyya* included more than eighteen major religious texts.[466]

The *Madrasa*-i-Farangi Mahal was founded in the late seventeenth century. The *madrasa* had included the *Dars-i-Nizami* as the core component of its curriculum.[467] Its underlying objective was to prepare individuals for the jobs of *muftis* and *Qazis*.[468] It consisted of both *Maqulat* and *Manqulat*. But the *madrasa*s accorded more importance to maqulat over *manqulat*.[469] The core components of its syllabus included Logic, Philosophy, *Fiqh*, Usul-i-*fiqh*, Tafsir (exegesis), and *Hadith*, Principles of *Hadith*, Rhetoric, Syntax, Astronomy, Physics, Geometry, Mathematics, Literature, Metaphysics, Scholasticism, and Law of inheritance.[470]

The important work of Barbra Metcalf, a scholar of South Asian Islam, on *Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband* informs us about the core curriculum that had been taught in the *madrasa*. Syllabus included: (a) i) Summary of *Mishkat al-Masabih*;(b) Six classical collections of precedent of Prophet; (c) It tried to develop the command of students over Arabic instruction; (d) The *madrasa* introduced Urdu as medium of instruction instead of Persian, and (e) It have emphasis on vocational training that included training in crafts and trades.[471] The other conspicuous features of the curriculum were de-emphasization of rational sciences and exclusion of English.

Though the founders of Deoband tried to capitalize on various aspects of modernity as in terms of its organizational structure and functions was a modern organization. However, it de-emphasized *maqulat* as it excluded logic and philosophy

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[466] Ata ul Rehman Qasmi , a scholar of Indian Islam in the Eighteenth century in his work on Shah Wali Ullah identifies names of the works that were included in the syllabus of *Madrasa-e- Rahimiyya* . The works included: *Kafia, Sharah Jami, Sharah Shamsia, Sharah Matalih, Sharah Hadayt ul Hikmat, Sharah Aqaid-i-Nasfi with Hashia Jalalain, Sharah Mawafiq, Sharah Waqaiyya, Mukhtasar-o-Matool, Mishkat-ul-Masabih, Shaamail-i-Tirimzi,Sahih Bukhari, Tafseer-ul-Madarik, Tafseer Bazavi, Awarif-ul-Maarif, Rasail-i-Naqshbandiyya, Sharah Rubayat-i-Jami, Muqaddama Sharah Lamiat, Lawaih and Muqaddama Naqd-ul-Nasus (Ilm-ul-haqaiq)*.[466] Ata ul Rehman Qasmi, *Imam Shah Waliuula aur un kay Afqar-o-Nazriat,* (Lahore: Maktaba Khaleel, 2005), p. 362.

[467] It was formulated by Mulla Nizam-ud-Din (d-1748) who belonged to the Farngi Mahal Family.

[468] Mubarak Ali, *The Ulamā, Sufis and Intellectuals*, 134.

[469] Muhammad Mian, *Ulamā-i-Hind Ka Shandar Mazi,* 6 Vols. (Karachi: Maktaba Rashidiyya, 1992), 5:76.

[470] Ibid.,

[471] There was talk of surveying and cartography. It established two kinds of vocational. The first imparted training in calligraphy, and the other *Tibb Yunani*(the traditional Islamic medicine).

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that neither Ghazali's *al-Falasifa* nor Shah Waliullah's *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* was included in the syllabus of Deoband. It also de-emphasized Sufism including all the teachings that constituted the core philosophy of the Shrine-centred Islam.[472] Deoband tried to create incredulity among the ordinary Muslims about the from customary beliefs and rituals of Shrine-centered Islam.[473]

This brief overview shows that the distinct models of Muslim *madrasas* differed in terms of emphasis on *maqulat* and *manqulat*. For instance, *Madrasa-i-Rahimiyya* tried to strike balance between *maqulat* and *manqulat*. However, over time focus of emphasis gravitated towards *manqulat*. The case of *Madrasa*-i-Farangi Mahal it tried to accord equal emphasis on *maqulat* and manqulat. On the other hand, Dar-ul-Ulum Deoband preferred manqulat over *maqulat*.

If one looks at syllabus that the *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s had been offering one finds that they altogether discarded *maqulat* and laid particular stress on *manqulat.*[474] Broadly speaking, the pupils of Sayed Nazir Hussain tried to follow the teaching style of Shah Muhammad Ishaq Delhvi (1778--1846), the maternal grandson of Shah Abdul Aziz. However, they could not maintain a sensible balance between the rational sciences and the scriptural texts. The obvious reason behind the emphasis was that the adherents of the movement strived to reorganize the religious life of the Muslims around a thorough understanding of the the Quran and Hadith. Thus it emerged as the main exponent of scriptulist Islam.

2.6.2 The Syllabus of *Ahl-i-Hadith Madrasa*s

There was not any centralized system of devising course syllabus of the *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s that all the *madrasa*s of *Ahl-i-Hadith* would follow. In 1955 the movement created an institution named *Wifaq-ul-Madaris* (*Al-Salafia*) to establish a network of affiliating *madrasa*s as well as bring uniformity in the content of syllabi.[475] Thus till partition, the *madrasa*s of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were not following a uniform

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[472] Sayed Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* 2 Vols. (Lahore: Sohail Academy2004), 2: 263.
[473] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Religious Education and the Rhetoric of Reform: The Madrasa in British India and Pakistan" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, 2. (April 1999): 304.
[474] The following sub-section further elaborates the point.
[475] Masoda Baso, *The Rational Believers: Choices and Decesions in the Madrasa of Pakistan* (New York: Cornel University Press, 2012), 87-89, 128.

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and the *Hadith*. The syllabi excluded all the branches of rational sciences. The exponents of the movement steadfastly clung to their commitment to organizing the religious lives of Muslims according to the precepts of Quran and Hadith. As noted in the previous sub-section that the Ahl-i- Hadith *madrasa*s, by and large, followed the course syllabus that de-emphasized *maqulat* and devised the scheme of study based on *manqulat*, which gave primacy to the core texts of Quran and Hadith.

As there was no uniformity in the curriculum, therefore, one cannot develop a clear understanding of what kind of courses had been offered in the *madrasa*s of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Nevertheless, it would be useful to look at the courses that one of the major institutions of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had been offering. The autobiographical work of Abdul Majeed on Hafiz Manan provides us with a clear idea about the content of courses that had been offered.

Table 2.11: The Course Syllabus Taught at Darul *Hadith* Wazirabad

Nomenclature of the Subject	**Contents**
Sarf-o-Nahv	The books of Arabic Grammar.
Quran	*Jalalain* the translation of Holy Quran written by Jalal-ud-Din Muhili and Jalal-ud-Din Suyuti.
The Works on Hadith Literature	*Balog-ul-Maram*; A collection of Hadith composed by Hafiz Ibn Hajr Asqalani. It was arranged with the subject of *fiqh*. Mishkat-ul-Masabih; Book of Hadith written by *Khatib al-Tabrizi*. *Sihah Sitta* with the following orders: Sunan Ibn Majah; Written by Imam Muhammad Abu Abdullah Ibn Majah Sunan Abu Daud; It was collected by Imam Sulamān Abu Dau (206 A. H-275 A. H.) Sunan Nisai; Abu Abdul Rahman Ahmad Ibn Shoaib composed this collection of Hadith. Jamia Tirimzi: Written by Imam Tirimzi. Sahih Muslim; Written by Imam Muslim Sahih Bukhari ; Written by Imam Ismail Bukhari

Source: Abdul Majeed, *Ustad-i-Punjab,* 94-6.

The courses offered at the *madrasa* clearly attest to the puritanical streaks of the teachings of the movement as well as its focus on scriptural Islam

2.7 *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement and its Engagement with Print Culture

The sections 2.1 to 2.5 took a historical overview of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement by examining the role of its pioneers, prominent ulamā, major *madrasa*s and the course syllabi that had been offered in the *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s. Let us move on to another important dimension of the movement that is its engagement with the print culture.

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approaching the distanced audience. It provided the adherents of religions plenty of opportunities to articulate their vision and to contest the ideas of the others sects or to initiate inter-religious debates. The print helped a lot in the formation and consolidation of distinctive religious identities as well.

The widely held view about the modernity is that it displaces tradition by creating doubt about its sacred underpinnings. But one can construe it only as a half-truth. The reality is that modernity also provides space for the adherents of tradition to solidify it and articulate their views and foster their identity in more vigorous ways. The same process took place in India as the religious revivalist and reform movements made effective use of antecedents of modernity to reassert their identity in a more effective manner. In the case of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement, we also see that it fully availed of the opportunities that modernity had thrown open. These opportunities manifested themselves in forms of antecedents like the introduction of the modern education system, the advent of colonial missionaries that ushered in a new era of religious debates, translation of scriptures into local languages and the introduction of print culture.[The chapter 1 of the study has elaborated the theme with more details].

Francis Robinson, a leading authority on South Asian Islam, in one of his important articles "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the impact of Print", has shown that how the religious movements have capitalized on the agency of print culture. The article illustrates that the print helped the modern religious movements to reach that audience that was at a distance. The print came to be the main forum in which religious polemical debates was launched. It also explains how the print culture made available the core texts of Islam the Quran and the Hadith to the increasing number of people. It also challenged the oral tradition which provided the plinth [figuratively] of the Shrine-centred Islam. The monopoly of the Ulamā over the interpretation came to be an end.[476] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, another foremost authority on South Asian Islam also arrives at a similar conclusion in his articles. Almost the similar conclusion was made by him in his article "Commentaries, Print, and Patronage: Hadith and the *Madrasa*s in Modern South Asia" in which he argues

[476] Francis Robinson "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the impact of Print" 223.

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culture.[477]

The translation of original texts into local languages provided the Ulamā more opportunities of articulating their personal ideas and helped them to develop their own sphere of influence. Riaz Hussain argues the shift towards scriptural texts evoked "anti-pir and anti-shrine" feelings and created awareness among the followers of the reform and revivalist movements about the personal responsibility of each Muslim towards God.[478]

Let us weave into the narrative that how did the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement deploy the agencies of modernity particularly the print culture to offer the literal interpretation of the Quran and Hadith. By emphasizing this aspect, I do not mean to suggest that by deploying the agencies of modernity Ahl-iHadith Movement sought to reconcile the differences between traditional Isalm and its modernist interpretations. Rather it made use of various antecedents of modernity to disseminate its religious message.

` Nazir Hussain had witnessed the decade before the advent of print culture in Punjab. While sharing the memories of his college days in late the 1820's when he was a student of the Delhi College. He recalls that "there were only eighteen copies of *Sahih Bukhari*, and the students had to divide them into parts. When I studied Tirmizi from Mian Sahib [Maulana Shah Muhammad Ishaq (1778-1846)], three of us used one copy".[479]

Since the establishment of the Presbyterian Mission in Ludhiana in 1834, the Muslim ulamā, particularly those of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement beganto appreciate the potentialities of modernity. The sub-section 2.6.1 shows that the movement had caplatized on the strengths of print.

2.7.1 Major Publications of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement 1880-1920

In the sub-section, I argue that the ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had effictively deployed the agency of print to further the cause of the movement. It shows that how and in what ways the movement had used the technology of print.

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477 Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Commentaries, Print and Patronage: Hadith and the Madrasas in Modern South Asia," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 62, 1, (1999): 62.
478 Riaz Hussain, "Religion, Society and the State in Pakistan: Pirs and Politics," 561
479 Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, 205-6.

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and theologians which contained puritanical streaks that perfectly complemented the cause of the movement. Table 2.11 lists those published works.

Table 2. 12: The Publication of the Works Indian Sufis/scholars that Puritanical streaks

The Name of the Scholar/Sufi	The Title of the Work
Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi	*Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani*
Shah Waliullah	*Hujjat Ullah al-Balighah*
Shah Ismail Shaheed,	*Taqwiyat al-Iman,* *Tanvir-ul-Ai'neein* *Ezah-ul-Haq*
Sayed Ahmad Shaheed	*Sera'at-i-Mustaqim*

The ulamā of the movement particularly Abdullah Ghaznavi accorded much importance to the publication of texts of Syrian Arabic scholars like Imam Ibn Taymiyya (1263—1328) and Imam Ibn Qayum (d.1350) whose works had been a source of inspiration for the Wahabi movement. Table 2.12 mentions the names of the works of the above mentioned theologians. And Abdullah Ghaznavi took initiative and published several editions of the works.

Table 2.13: The Publication of the Works Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyum

The Name of the Scholar	Names of the Work
Imam Ibn Taymiyya	*Minhaj-as-Sunnahan-Nabaviya* *Ziyarat al-Qubur*
Imam Ibn Qayum	*Zad al-Ma'ad*

Source: Ishaq Bhatti, *Fuqha-i-Pak-o-Hind*.

The involvement of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the polemical debates led to the production of an extensive corpus of literature on *fatawā* that the prominent ulamā of the movement had issued from time to time. The ulamā made elaborate arrangemwent of publication of the literature based on *fatawā*. Table 2.13 specifies the works on *fatawā* that were published.

Table 2.14: The Publication of Books on *fatawā* of Major Scholars of the Movement

Name of the Scholar	Title of the Work
Sayed Nazir Hussain	*Fatawā-i-Naziriyya*
Ghulam Rasul Qalvi	*Fatawā Ghulam Rasul*
Sana Ullah Amritsari	*Fatawā-i-Sanaiyya*
Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi	*Fatawā-i-Ghaznaviyya*
Hafiz Abdullah Roari	*Fatawā-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*

Source: Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Jamaeen-i-Hadith* (Sialkot: Jamia Rahmania, 2004). Raees Ahmad Nadvi, *Jama'at-i-Ahl-i-Hadith Ki Tasneefi Khidmaat* (Benares: 1980). Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer kay Ahl-i-HadithKhudam-ul-Quran* (Lahore: Maktaba Quddusia, 2005).

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the potentialities of the print. Therfore, Nazir Hussain and Nawab Siddiq Hasan devoted much attention to the publication of their works. Nazir Hussain got both of his works published.

Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan authothed thirty-three books on the subject of the Hadith and its related branches of knowledge. Nineteen of those works were in Arabic, four in Persian and ten in Urdu. He wrote commentary books on *Sahih Bukhari*, *Balogh ul Maram*, *al-Arbaen* and *Adab ul Mufarad*.[480] The other prominent *Ahl-i-Hadith* ulamā followed the suit. Table 2.14 provides a list of major publications of the eminent scholars of the movement

Table 2.15: The Leading Publications of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Scholars

Name of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Scholar	The Title of the Work
Sayed Nazir Hussain	*Fatawā-i-Naziriyya, Mihyar-ul-Haqq*
Sana Ullah Amritsari	*Haqq Parakash, Muqadas Rasul, Turk-i-Islam, Taqleed-i-Shakhsi, Islam aur Masihiat*
Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri	*Tahqiq-ul-Kalām fi bai'at wa Alham, Al-Qaul al Mubin.*
Maulana Abul Hasan Sialkoti	*Bijli Asmani Bar Sar Dajjal Qadiani*
Qazi Abdul Ahad Khanpuri	*Al-Bayan wa Aghasa, Aqamat-ul-Burhan.*
Abdul Majeed Sohdari	*Dastan-i-Mirza*
Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti	*Shahadat-ul-Quran, Tareekh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, Tauhid-i-Elahi, Al-Qaul-ul-Sadidi fi Taqleed*
Ghulam Nabi Sohdari	*Nasihat-ul-Muslameen*
Hafiz Abdullah Ropari	*Tauhid-ul-Rahman, Ahl-i-Hadith kay Imtiazi Masail, Maududviat aur Hadith-i-Nabvi*
Hafiz Muhammad Gondalvi	*Assbat-i-Taauhid*
Muhammad Ismail Salafi	*Tehreek-i-Azadi-i-Fikr, Hayat-ul-Nabi, Ziarat-ul Qubur.*
Daud Ghaznavi	*Haqiqat-i-Shirāk*

Source: Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer Mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht: Tanzeem, Tableegh, Tadrees*, (Lahore: 2012)

The Table provides fleeting glimpses into the published works of the major scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. It does not mention any work of Nawab Siddique Hasan about whom we have already alluded earlier. Nor I claim that the Table provides an exhaustive list of the works. Neverthees, it gives us a clear idea about the fact that how the scholars of the movement been deploying the agency of print to promote the cause of the movement.

[480] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Jamaeen-i-Hadith*, 87.

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launched a number of periodicals and magazines. Table 2.15 provides the list of the magazines along with the names of their editors.

Table 2.16: The List of Major Magazines Launched by the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith*

Name of the Editor	Title of the Magazine
Muhammad Hussain Batalvi	*Ishaat-ul-Sunnah*(Weekly)
Sana Ullah Amritsari	*Musalman* [*Amritsar*](Monthly) *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar*(Weekly) *Muraqah-i-Qadiani*(Monthly)
Daud Ghaznavi	*Tauhid* [Amritsar]
Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti	*Al-Hadi* (Monthly)

Source : Abdul Ghafor, *Muhammad Hussain Batalvi: Hayat-o-Khidmat* (Lahore: 2003); Abdul Majeed Sohdari, *Seerat-i-Sanai* (Lahore:1989);Sayed Abu Bakar Ghaznavi, *Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi* (ed.), (Lahore:1974), and; Muhammad Aslam Saif, *Imam-ul-Asr Maulana Muhammad Ibrahim Sialkoti* (Mamukanjan, Faisalabad: 1994).

It would be relevant to briefly allude to the major printing press that the protoganoists of the movement had established in the discourse on the engagement of the movement with print culture. There were three major printing presses of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab that included: Matbah Ahmadi Lahore that a follower of the movement Muhiy-ud-Din had established. It published some of the works of Siddiq Hasan Khan, along with some translations of the original books of Hadith and of the *Holy Quran*, exegesis of the Holy Quran. Another important press was Anwar-ul-Islam (Amritsar) Abdul Ghafoor Ghaznavi was its proprietor. It used to publish the Holy Quran, Quranic translations and corpus of literature on Hadith. Sanai Press Amritsar that Sana Ullah had established was considered very publishing arm of the movement. Most of the works of *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars were published from the Sanai press.[481]

2.8 The Expansion and the Growth of the *Ahl-i-Hadith*

Uptill now, the chapter has covered the history of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement(Section 2.1), its pioneers—Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan and Syed Nazir Husain and the prominent *ulama* of the movement. (Section 2.2 and 2.3). Section 2.4 shed light on the organization of *Ahl-i-Hadith* madressahs in the Punjab. The following section(2.5) sought to assess the reaction of Barelvi *ulama* against the movement. The next section outlined the Syllabus that madressahs of *Ahl-i-Hadith* offered. The chapter also discussed other important themes like the engagement of the movement with Print

[481] Imam Khan Noshehrvi, *Hindustan mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Ilmi Kidmat,* 107.

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movement in the Punjab.

The section looks at the expansion of the movement in East and Central Punjab. During the period that the study investigates, the *Ahl-i-Hadith* could not gain considerable clout in South Punjab. Nevertheless, the section makes brief or passing mention of the carriers of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* influences in South Punjab. The sub-section (2.8.1) examines the role of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the states of the Punjab. The other subsection(2.8.2) widens the scope of the discussion

and the organization of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* madressahs in the Punjab(Section2.4).

The *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the province began to spring up from Amritsar and its vicinities later it spread its influence in Lahore, Gujranwala, Wazirabad and Sialkot[All these territories later formed the core areas of Central Punjab after the partition of India]. After the partition, the scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith* settled in other areas of Punjab like Okara, Qasur, and Khenawal. Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti mentioned 26 to 30 *madrasa*s of *Ahl-i-Hadith* most of them were established in pre-partition Punjab especially central Punjab of that time such as Lahore, Gujranwala, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, and Ferozepur.[482] The *madrasa*s established in the the areas joied in India were shifted to west Punjab after the migration especially to Okara, Khanewal, Faisalabad etc. As a result of this migration, several new centres were established in these areas.

During the period that the present study investigates the movement had not been able to develop considerable influence in South Punjab, only a few individuals that received education in the particularly in the *madrasa*s of Nawab Siddique Hasan and Syed Nazir Hussain became carriers of the influences of the movement. For instance, Qamar-ud-Din, who hailed from Multan embraced the creed of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Later he sent his three sons Abdul Ghaffar, Abdul Tawwab (1871—1947) and Abdul Barr to the *madrasa* of Syed Nazir Hussain in Delhi. Among them, Abdul Tawwab became a well known preacher of the movement. He established a publishing house named the *Maktaba-e-Salafia* and under its auspices published the works of Imam Ibn Taymiyya, Imam Ibn Qayum, and Imam Shaukani. Sultan Muhammad Multani(d. 1906) and

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[482] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer Mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht: Tanzeem, Tableegh, Tadrees* (Narratives of Ahl-i-Hadith in subcontinent: Organization, Preaching, Teaching), (Lahore: Maktab-i-Salafiyya, 2012), 284.

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Multan. Sultan Muhammad Multani wrote a booklet in refutation of the doctrine of *Wadhat-tul-Wajud* (The Ontological Monism) as well as some other booklets in the negation of *Taqleed* (Uncritical and blind following).

Ibrahim Chakralvi was the son of Abdullah Chakralvi—the founder of Ahl-i-Quran sect, but he became an ardent supporter of the cause of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Another prominent figure in South Punjab was Abdur Rehman Bhawalpuri, who played a key role in organizing *Ahl-i-Hadith* conference in Multan in 1920.

2.8.1 Charting the Course of the*Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in the States of the Punjab

After having a brief overview of the growth of the movement in Cental and South Punjab let us shift the focus of discussion to examine the nature of *Ahl-i-Hadith* activities in the princely states of Punjab. Ishaque Bhatti(d.2015), a scholar and historian of *Ahl-i-Hadith* is of the view that propogation of Islam in the princely states of Punjab constituted the major plank of the strategy of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Before examining the role of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the princely states it would be useful to develop an idea about the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim majority in the states. Table 2.16 and 2.17 provide us helpful insights in this context.

Table 2.17: The Princely States Having the Majority of Hindus and Sikhs in the Population

The Name of the States having Hindu Majority in Population	The Percentage of Hindu Population	The Name of the States having Sikh Majority in Population	The Percentage of Sikh Population
Suket	90 percent	Farid Kot	57 percent
Jind	75 percent	Patiala	30 percent
Kalsia	48 percent		
Nabha	46 percent		

Source: *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. 17, Punjab, Part. I, 289

Table 2.18: The Princely States Having Sizeable Percentage of Muslim Population

The Name of the States	The Percentage of Muslim Population
Bhawalpur	81 precent
Maleer Kotla	38 percent
Kapurthala	37percent

Source: *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. 17, Punjab, Part. I, 289

Cummulatively, the Tables 2.16 and 2.17 based on Census of India, 1931 show that out of ten princely states of colonial Punjab only Muslims had a clear majority in population in one state Bahawalpur. Table 2.17 shows that there was a sizeable proportion of the Muslim population in the princely states like Maleer Kotla and Kapurthala.

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other princely states it appears quite understandable that why thev preachers of *Ahl-i-Hadith*

Likewise in the British territory of the Punjab, the *Ahl-i-Hadith* remained active in the different states of the Punjab till the partition of the country. While considering the population of the states of the Punjab, Sikhs predominated in Farid Kot and Patiala with fifty-seven and thirty percent respectively. Muslims were in majority in Bahawalpur with eighty-one percent whereas they were in reasonable strength in Kapurthala and Maleer Kotla with thirty-seven and thirty-eight percent respectively. From the remaining states Hindus enjoyed a vast majority in ten where their population stretching from ninety percent in Suket to seventy-five percent in Jind and were more numerous in in Kalsia (forty eight) and Nabha (forty six).[483] Here is the population distribution of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect in certain states of the Punjab available in the Census of 1911.

Table 2.19: The Numerical strength of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the States of Colonial Punjab in 1911

Name of the State	Population of *Ahl-i-Hadith*
Kalsia State	98
Kapurthala	173
Maleer Kotla	240
Patiala	547
Nabha	32
Bahawalpur	09

Source: Census of India, 1911, Vol. 14, Punjab, Part. 1, 168. Census of India, 1911, Vol. 14, Punjab, part. II, 44.

By observing the above table of numerical distribution of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect in the states it is analyzed that they were developing in these states. They constructed several mosques in these states where they were imparting their ideology. Friday prayers were organized in these mosques.[484]

The Ulama of *Ahl-i-Hadith* took part in many religious debates in these states. For instance, Sana Ullah Amritsari disputed with an Ahmadi preacher in the state of Maleer Kotla on 12 April 1921.

In the state of Kapurthala as well the Ulama of *Ahl-i-Hadith* indulged in several Munāzara with Ahmadis Ulama. Muhammad Amin Amritsari, a disciple of Sana Ullah

[483] Census of India, 1911, Vol. 14, Punjab, Part. 1, 168. Census of India, 1911, Vol. 14, Punjab, part. II, 44.
[484] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Barr-i-Sagheer Mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht: Tanzeem, Tableegh, Tadrees* (Narratives of Ahl-i-Hadith in subcontinent: Organization, Preaching, Teaching), (Lahore: Maktab-i-Salfiyya, 2012), 52.

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Mian Abdul Hameed, the then Prime minister of the state on 20 September 1921.[485]

However, the movement remained inactive in southern Punjab. Personal carriers reached in southern Punjab likewise but this progress could not match with the central and western Punjab. He also put forward the role of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in the states of Punjab; Patiala, Kapurthala, Jind, Nabha, Farid Kot, Maleer kotla and Kalsia.[486]

2.8.2 The Population Figures of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the Punjab

In 1881 the *Ahl-i-Hadith* community consisted of 2453 persons all over Punjab, which increased to 3604 in 1891. The Census Report of India in 1901 showed an increasing trend of the population of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect[487], which rose to 39083 in 1911. If we analyze the percentage of increase in the population between 1881 and 1891 then we find there occurred 47 percent increase in population. But during the next two decades, i.e 1891 and 1911. The population showed a rate of increase of 984 percent.[488]

According to the Census Report of 1921, the population of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had reached 60,644. It revealed that there occurred a 55.5 percent increase in the *Ahl-i-Hadith* population since 1911.[489] The Census Report of India in 1931 counted 182,544 *Ahl-i-Hadith* followers in the province.[490]

The overall view of population figures of *Ahl-i-Hadith* confirms that the population of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had been s increasing between 1881 and 1931. Inspite of phenomenal growth in the size of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* community they only constituted 1.5 percent of the total Muslim population of the province. But on the other hand, we observe that wielded enormous political and religious clout. More significantly, it posed a serious challenge to the Shrine-centered Islam, which in certain ways influenced the then prevaling ethos of sufi Islam.[491] The profound impact of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* allows us to reiterate the argument that *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in the Punjab carried much larger clout than the proportion of *Ahl-i-Hadith* followers in the population of the province.

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[485] Muqtadi Asari, *Tazkarat ul Munazareen* (Descriptions of Debates), 2 Vols. (Lahore: Dar-ul-Nawadar, 2007), 1:408-413.
[486] Ibid., 52.
.[487] Census of India 1901, Vol. XVII, The Punjab, its Feudatories and the North-West Frontier Province, Part I, 142
[488] Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV. Punjab, Part I, 166.
[489] Census of India, 1921, Vol. XV. Punjab and Delhi, Part I, 166.
[490] Census of India, 1931, Vol. 17 , Punjab, part.1, 313.
[491] The Chapter 5 of the work elaborates the theme at length.

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CHAPTER-3

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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CHAPTER 3
Role of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Munāzara Tradition in Punjab 1880-1930

This chapter sheds light on the polemical behavior of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in the process of religious transition. Before the advent of the Christian missionaries in the subcontinent, *munāzara*[492] was conducted mainly in the royal courts under the supervision of the monarch. The missionaries were the first agent of modernity who introduced new trends in the process of proselytization of the locals. They also introduce print as a tool for religious debate. Print played a very crucial part in the diffusion of *munāzara* activities throughout India and hence in Punjab as well. For the very first time in the history of India, the common people through the act of *munāzara* were addressed. These circumstances gave a source of identification to the common Muslims and they created communal tension.

The chapter has been divided into four sections. Section 3.1 provides an overview of the brief concept of the *munāzara* in Islamic History and religious encounters in British India and the circumstances which change the religious face of the country. The next Section 3.2 deals with the religious activities of Christian missionaries. As a result of their actions, the Punjab became the hub of communal antagonism. The Muslim responses to these activities have been discussed in the next section (3.3). Section 3.4 deals the *munāzara* conducted by the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* to propagate their own perception of Islam. It has been further divided into two categories. Sub-section 3.4.1 deals with the *munāzara* conducted with the non-Muslim communities such as Christian Missionaries, Arya Samajis, and Sikhs. Sub-section 3.4.2 shows the *munāzaras* held with the other Muslim sects such as Hanafis (Deobandi and Barelvi), Shia and Ahl-i-Quran and Ahmadis.[493]

3.1 <u>Overview</u>

The word *munāzara* (religious debate) gained popular currency in India during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It has its origin in Arabic which

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[492] *Munāzara* is derived from the Arabic word *nazara* which indicates; to look, to view or to have outlook. See Imam Asfahai. *al Mufrida'at*.

[493] The Ahmadis were not officially declared as non-Muslim community as this study deals with the socio-religious history of Ahl-i-Hadith tiil1947.

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made several kinds of debates regarding the religious beliefs of four religions. These included; *Mushriqeen-i-Mecca*[495], Jews[496], Christians, and Hypocrite.[497] There are other examples of the Quranic *munāzaras* such as between Prophet Ibrahim and Nimrod[498], Prophet Muhammad and a Christian delegation of Najran[499]and Prophet Moses and Pharaoh.[500]

During the periods of Pious Caliphate, Umayyad and Abbasid *munāzara* tradition remained only for the clarification of religious matters rather than disgracing the opponents. The Muslim-Christian religious debates which had been taken place could be traced back throughout the history of Islam since the Abbasid Caliphate in Bagdad in the eighth century to the Mughal Empire in India in the sixteenth century. Caliphs and Emperors remained as patrons of religious debates. The history of Islam reveals the stories of these religious debates. The Royal Polyglot (bilingual) printed Bible presented by the Fathers to Emperor Akbar on their first visit to Agra in 1580.[501]

These activities were not confined to the court of Akbar but later on, before the British conquest of Northern India in1803, the missionary activities got underway. An Arabic script of the Bible was sent to Emperor Shah Alam (r.1707-1712) by Calcutta missionaries.[502] Missionaries were considered the first agents of modernity in India. They introduced the printing press in India.[503]

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494 F. Steingass, *Arabic-English Dictionay* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 2001),1063.
495 They called themselves as *Hanif* the follower of the Prophet Ibrahim.
496 Jews (*Yahud*) were the followers of Torah revealed on Prophet Moses and they believed that Hazrat Uzair was the son of God.
497 Shah Waliullah, *al Fauz ul Kabir fi Usul al Tafsir* (Lahore: Maktaba Khawar, 1979), 6. After the migration of Prophet Muhammad to Medina a new group named *Munafiqeen* (Hypocrites) was aroused who according to Quran had accept Islam only verbally and their hearts were not filled with the love of Islam.
498 Quran, (2:258)
499 Quran, (3:61)
500 Quran, (10:75-86)
501 Avril Anon Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (Richmond: Curson Press, 1993), 12.
502 Ibid., 103.
503 Bari Aleeg, *Company Ki Hakomat* (Government of the Company), (Lahore: Nia Edara, 1937), 417. The newspaper, *Samachar Darpan* (in Bengali language), was the first of its kind in Bengali language, started by Christian missionaries of Serampur, during the year 1818. While as according to Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia the name of the first newspaper was Friends of India issued from Serampur under the patronage of Christian missionaries. Abdullah Yousaf Ali in his book *Hindustani Akhbar Navisi* (Indian Newspaper-writing) claims that first printing press in UP was set up in Kanpur in 1822. So the Christian missionaries were the first who introduced the modern tools of hegemony to the Indian

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of Evangelical Mission at Serampur near Calcutta in the early nineteenth century.[504] Behind this establishment were the enthusiastic efforts of Charles Grant who advocated in 1792 that the religious barbarism of Indian people could be diminished through the dissemination of Christian light. Jacob S. Dharmaraj, a scholar of Christian missions in India in the Nineteenth century, identifies the main objective of the mission societies that worked in India:

> The content of their (missionaries) hope was not merely a conglomerate of individual conversions but a comprehensive revolution in heathen Society in which every aspect of that society would be praised from the grip of satanic domination and submitted to the liberating lordship of Christ.[505]

Before the arrival of the Christian missionaries in India, the Muslim *Ulamā* and Hindu religious leaders shared religious topics within mosques and temples instead of debating at the open places and in the crowd.[506]

Avril Powell, a scholar of Pre-colonial and British India, observes a perceptible shift in nature of religious debate after the advent of Protestant Evangelical missions in India, in her work on *Muslims and Christian Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*. She opines that religious debate was more open and the participants showed more tolerance, but this atmosphere altogether changed with the arrival of the Christian missionaries. A. A. Powell shows that the missionary activities of the Protestant preachers evoked an aggressive response from Muslim ulamā.[507] Julius Richter (b1862—1940), a German protestant musicologist, while highlighting the importance of India for Christian Missionaries, wrote in 1908 says that "it would be hard to find any land possessing so great an attraction for the missionary societies".[508]

It would be relevant to provide a brief account of the early nineteenth century several Protestant Mission started functioning in India. These belonged to the Dutch,

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people. Also see Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia, (Lahore: Ghulam Ali and Sons, 2004), 744. See also Muhammad Atiq, *Hindustani Akhbar*, (n.d) ,228.

504 Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia, 416. The Christian missionaries of Serampur established their press. William Ward was first head of this printing press. The missionaries also translated the Bible into the Bengali language and was circulated in the Province of Bengal..

505 Jacob S. Dharmaraj, *Colonialism and Christian Mission,* 58.

506 Mubarak Ali, *The Ulama, Sufis and Intellectuals* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996), 113.

507 Ibid., 2.

508 Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1908), 221.

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missionaries became active in the heartland of India (Gangetic Region).[509]

In 1833 a well-known missionary Wolff under the auspices of the society for promoting Christianity among the Jews reached Lucknow.[510] In those days Lord William was sympathetic to missionary causes. Due to this reason, his lectures were arranged by the British officials and missionaries in Northern India welcomed him.[511] In Britain, missionaries proclaimed that Christianity and the consolidation of the British rule in India were connected with one another. They believed that the route of Indian progress lay in western religion and civilization.[512]

The works of the Muslim scholars of the nineteenth century like Sir Sayed Ahmad (1817—1898), and Mufti Intazam Ullah Shahabani clearly highlight the point that there existed a close link between the missionaries and the Government officials.[513]

T. K. Oommen, a sociologist of religion, informs in his work *The Christian Clergy in India* that although the colonial state sought to maintain neutrality towards the different religious communities in India. However, a number of factors created popular perception that the officials of the British government had been supporting the missionary activities. These included, the local people could not clearly differentiate between the missionary work of the European missions and the role of the British Government officials. Moreover, the British government had allowed the individual officers to get involved in the work of Christian missionaries in their

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[509] The term 'Gangetic core' has been used by Kenneth W. Jones in his *Socio-Religious Movements* and also by Powell in her *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* for the region around Delhi where Muslim-Christian missionaries first encounter took place.
[510] Powell, Muslims and Missionaries, 119-20.
[511] Ibid. The translations of Bible into Urdu, Arabic and Persian by Martyn were circulated among the Ulamā of Lucknow and Delhi. He reached India in 1805 as a padre of East India Company. He was an expert of linguistics. Martyn also engaged with Shia alim Sayyid Muhammad and Tasadduq Hussain at Lucknow.
[512] Rowena Robinson, *Christian of India* (New Delhi: Saga Publications, 2003), 47.
[513] Sayed Ahmed Khan, cited in, I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo- Pakistan Subcontinent 610-1947* (Karachi: Ma'rifat Limited, 1977), 197. Mufti Intazam Ullah Shahabani in his book *East India Company Aur Baghi Ulamā* depicts this situation and maintains that as soon as the Company's Raj established in India, the Christian missionaries came to India. They set up printing presses at Mirzapur and Agra. They translated English literature into Urdu and were circulated among the local people, Mufti Intazam Ullah Shahabani, *East India Company Aur Baghi Ulamā* (*East India Company and Mutineer Ulamā*), (Lahore: Maktaba Rizwan, 1989), 71-72.

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the state to oversee the operations of churches and their religious hierarchy.

Anyhow, the British rule provided encouraging conditions for the missions to work even in the small towns without confronting much opposition.

As soon as the missionaries extended their religious activities, there developed a Muslim-Christian encounter in the shape of *munāzara* activity especially at Agra, Delhi, and its surrounding. There took place a *munāzara* in Delhi between Shah Abdul Aziz (the then head of the *Madrasa*-i-Rahimiyyah) and various unidentified priests.[515] It constitutes a prime evidence of Waliullahi Movement's encounter with modernity. The Christian missionaries challenged Muslim Ulamā because the Muslim scholars possessed insufficient knowledge of Christianity and non-accessibility of Old and New Testament. These activities led to the worsening of the communal situation. Anon Powell furthered the new style of Munāzara techniques and proclaimed that

"Munāzara conducted in royal courts according to long-established adab (etiquette) would be replaced, in an atmosphere of growing unease about intrusive British policies and missionary expansion, by bitter and sometimes abusive exchanges through letters and tracts as of old, but also utilizing the new media of newspapers, articles, and bazaar diatribe."[516]

The scenario was severely disturbed with the arrival of a Protestant German Priest Carl G. Pfander in Agra. He translated his book *Mizan-ul-Haqq* (Measuring the Truth) into Urdu and it became the main cause of counterattack by the Muslims. In this book, he counted the drawbacks of Islam and the Muslims.[517] In order to rebut these allegations, Maulana Rehmat Ullah Khan Kiranwi (1818-1890) wrote a book entitled Ezhar-ul-Haqq Bible se Quran Tak (Expression of the Truth From Bible to Quran). In its preface Maulana Rehmat wrote that he, the candidate of the Blessings of God Almighty, Rehmat Ullah bin Khalil-ur-Rehman is saying, that when the British Government established its strong domination in India, it set political harmony

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[514] T.K Oommen and Hunter P. Mabry, *The Christian Clergy in India*, 2 Vols. (New Delhi: Saga publications, 2000), 1: 46.
[515] Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries*, 103.
[516] Ibid.131.
[517] Ibid., 131-32.

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any invitation towards their religion. Then they started to persuade conversion gradually. And published books and pamphlets against Muslims and delivered among the common people in certain cities. Furthermore, they started preaching and addressing in bazaars, meetings and on the road. I asked the writer of Mizan-ul-Haqq for general debate. Five points (Tahrif of Bible, Nasukh, Trinity, Truthfulness of the Quran and the Prophethood of Muhammad) were to be discussed with missionaries including Pfander. My friend (Wazir Khan) was my helper and some missionaries were supporters of the priest. By the grace of God, we got success in the first two the very complicated issues and when the priest saw his vexatious defeat, he did not dare to debate the rest of the issues.[518]

This polemical discourse brought about small-scale conversion among the lower caste of the Muslims. The activities of the Christian missionaries led to the conversion of certain segments of the Muslim weavers as well.[519] This conversion was largely due to economic matters. Christian missionaries did not have to enforce conversion but benefits cost something to converts. [520] Abdul Masih, a convert to Christianity maintained his mission in Agra until 1825. The converts who remained firm were, according to British officials in the region, mainly poor weavers.[521] These developments aroused Muslim concerns. The Christian missionaries opened new trends for Proselytization of the Indians. A new threat had now appeared. Francis Robinson proclaims that Islam was strongly criticized by its opponents. "Elites throughout the Muslim World now sought European, as opposed to Islamic knowledge as the way forward in life. Aspects of European life and thought were seeping into many levels of Muslim life."[522]

Mr. Mangles, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of East India Company while addressing in Parliament in 1857 said that God had bestowed us the control of India so that we should hold the banner of the Christendom to everywhere

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[518] Maulana Rehmat Ullah Kiranwi, *Ezhar-ul-Haqq: Bible se Quran Tak (Expression of the Truth: From Bible to Quran)*, (Karachi: Maktaba-i-Darul Uloom, 2004), 197.
[519] Rowena Robinson, *Christian of India*, 60.
[520] Ibid., 60-61.
[521] Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries,*114-15.
[522]Francis Robinson, "The Ummah in 21st Century," The Herald Annual, (January 2001): 104

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new threats of these evangelical activities to missionaries. Francis Robinson proclaims that Islam was strongly criticized by its opponents.[524]

Thus the missionary activities proved as a catalyst in creating Muslim's consciousness and the Muslim counteracted these activities by using the modern technologies such as newspapers and tracts in the retaliation of the British missionaries

3.2 Activities of Christian Missionaries and the rise of Communal Antagonism in Punjab

After the Charter Act 1813 and 1833, the attacking round of Christian missionaries in India was started. The Charter of 1833 allowed that the Christian missionaries would be permanently settled in India and made provision for Anglican hierarchy at Calcutta. With the expansion of the British Empire missionaries began to arrive and Christianity began to spread by establishing centers at Madras and Bombay.[525]

As a matter of fact, with the fall of the cis-Sutlej area of Punjab into the hands of British, the Presbyterian Church of United States of America set up a mission at Ludhiana on November 5, 1834, under John Lowrie.[526] In 1835 this mission set up a wooden press, the first of its kind in Punjab when John Newton succeeded John Lowrie. This press became the most active center for the production of the literature of missionary character in Punjabi as well. A weekly newspaper '*Nur Afshan*' was launched by this mission.[527]

With the annexation of Lahore in 1849, this mission was stationed there. Soon the mission had established many offshoots throughout Punjab and maintained a network of dispensaries, schools, and colleges among which the Forman Christian

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[523] Trevor Ling, *A History of Religion East and West* (London: Macmillan, 1968), 382. Trevor ling is a professor of comparative religions in University of Manchester.
[524] Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 84.
[525] Jacob S. Dharmaraj, *Colonialism and Christian Mission: Post Colonial Reflections* (New Delhi: ISPCK, 1993), 19.
[526] Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab, Vol. I, 428.
[527] Ian Talbot, *India and Pakistan*, 61

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missions in Punjab in the south of the River Ravi. In Lahore and Amritsar, the Church Mission Society was organized and its missions spread throughout the province.[529] The Jullundur American Presbyterian Mission was established in 1847. It opened an Anglo-Vernacular School for modern education.[530] In Sialkot, Church of Scotland Mission was planted in 1856 and one of the same kind also in Daska (Sialkot). The Mission commenced a college, a high school, a hospital, and a dispensary.[531] Missionary influences were penetrated in other areas of the Punjab as is evident by the settings of their missions in several districts of the Punjab. But as a result of Mutiny, these activities were interrupted for a brief and soon started freshly in the 1860s.[532] They also set new centers such as Sialkot Mission of the Church of Scotland began its branch at Wazirabad (Gujranwala) in the year1863.[533]

In the meanwhile, they also engaged in encounters against the religions of the locals, particularly of the Muslims. It was the missionaries who introduced new models of religious preaching as they were professionally trained for the preaching of their religion. They introduced the first printing press in Punjab.[534] They used to preach in the streets and bazaars and even at the religious festivals. The number of converts to Christianity rose rapidly from 3912 in 1881 to 19000 in 1891 and in 1901 reached 38000.[535] Although this conversion to Christianity was largely from the lower castes of the Hindus yet the Muslims were also conscious of their religion. They felt it a dangerous threat that became a catalytic factor for the Muslims as well as other religious revivalism and reformism in Punjab.

They worked for the dissemination of the western education which they thought that it was necessary for the proselytizing of the locals into Christianity. Theirs was an aggressive and uncompromising attitude towards the Muslims and Hindus. They started preaching in 'print' as well as open preaching in the streets. With this, the religious harmony in the Punjab was badly shaken. They made untiring

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528 Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab, Vol. I, 428.
529 Imperial Gazetteer of India Punjab, Vol.1, 52-53.
530 Gazetteer of the Jullundur District, 1904, 134.
531 Gazetteer of the Sialkot District 1894-95, 69.
532 Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements,* 87.
533 Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District 1893-94, 49.
534 Kennith W. Jones, "Communalism in the Punjab, 43.
535 Government of India, Census of India 1891, *The Punjab and its Feudatories*, Part I, (Calcutta: Government Printing Office, 1892), xliv, 97.

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Christianity.[536]

The above harsh picture depicted the overwhelming activities of missionary's activities throughout the Punjab. Tahir Kamran[537], a renowned historian of colonial Punjab[538] opines that the religious harmony was severely shaken by the activities of the Christian missionaries. They made a jest of the local religions and criticized their holy personalities. He further proclaims that the locals could not bear the burden of the disgrace of their great personalities. This factor made the Muslim Ulamā conscious of their religion.[539] With the proselytizing activities of the missionaries aired the process of Hindu revivalism. Along with this oriental writer like Sir William Jones, Princep, Bothlingk, and many other scholars wrote about the Hindu glorious past. The sense of their superior past had boosted Hindu revivalism. On the other end, Hindu scholars also performed works similar to them. For example, Bhandarkar and Mitra brought home to the Hindus the glorious past.[540] And as a result, it had given rise to the Muslim revivalism.[541] Zarina Salamat is of the opinion that preaching of the Christian missionaries and conversion created a lot of fear which became a motivating force for the Muslim revivalism.[542]

On the other hand, the Hindu revivalist movements in its nature were anti-Muslim rather than anti-British. Bankim Chatterjee's Anandmath was an example of this rivalry.[543] Muslim scholars were in the danger of losing political power in Northern India and it helped in the emergence of Muslim separatism.[544] Satish Saberwal sums up Muslim awareness in the context of their sense of declining their present. They become anxious about their future while considering their magnificent

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536 Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, 71, 141.
537 Tahir Kamran is Chairman at Department of History GC University, Lahore.

539 Tahir Kamran, "Jiddo Juhd-i-Azadi Mein Punjab Ka Hissa (Role of Punjab in the Struggle of Independence)" in Mubarak Ali, *Seh Mahi Tarikh*, (ed), (Lahore: Fiction House, 2001), 94.
540 Razi Wasti, "Some Aspects of the Hindu British Conspiracy against the Muslims," *The Historian*, 1,1, (July 1971) : 7.
541 Muhammad Ali Siddiqi, "Nostalgia and Much More", in Ameena Saiyid (ed), *Common Heritage* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), ix.
542 Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in 1920* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1996), 17-18.
543 Razi Wasti, "Some Aspects of the Hindu British Conspiracy against the Muslims," 8.
544 Francis Robinson, Foreword to Religion, Violence and Political Mobilization in South Asia, by Ravinder Kaur (ed), (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), 14.

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in the fear of the Day of Judgment.[546] However, this Hindu-Muslim antagonism was the outcome of colonial modernity which changed the amicable situation of Punjab and Muslim ethos into religious fundamentalism. Secondly, the British Government benefited Hindus against the Muslims. This also created a sense of deprivation among the Muslims. This also led towards the Muslims consciousness about the defense of their religion. Trevor Ling displays that the Muslims were being discriminated against the Hindus.[547]

Mubarak Ali speaks out that on one hand these missionaries were equipped with the knowledge of Islam and other Indian religions and on the other hand with the modern organization, discipline, government support, and financial aid. They took the advantages of printing presses and published a number of polemical tracts which were distributed free of cost among the local people for the purpose of conversion.[548] With this old *Munāzara* tradition of royal court under the supervision of a ruler was replaced as the result of the British invasion and missionary expansion.[549]

The harmonic environment of Punjab was worsened by the setting of religious revival movements in Sikhism and Hinduism. The Namdhari was founded in the 1850s by Balak Singh. The cow protection was a major feature of Namdharis. The extremists from this organization killed a number of Muslim butchers in Amritsar and Ludhiana in 1871.[550] The Arya Samaj was formed by Swami Dayanand in Bombay in 1875. The movements succeed in bringing the limited number of Hindus into its fold. After this, Dayanand visited Delhi and gained limited favor. In short, he reached Lahore on April 19, 1877, and stayed there till July 1878. Here in the Punjab, he succeeded to launch nine local Samajs in different cities of the Punjab.[551] His

[545] Satish Saberwal, "On the Making of Muslim," This paper rests on the Maharajadhiraja Kameshwar Singh Memorial Lecture, Darbhanga, 28 November 2005.
[546] Robinson, Foreword to Religion, Violence and Political Mobilization, 12.
[547] Trevor Ling, *A History of Religion East and West*, 382.
[548] Mubarak Ali, *The Ulamā*, 113.
[549] Avril Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*, 131.
[550] Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikh* 2 Vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 2: 132.
[551] Chhaju Bawa Singh, *The Life and Teachings of Sawami Dayanand Saraswati* (Lahore: Addison Press, 1903),363-66.

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situation in the Punjab.[552]

Lala Munshi Ram, later known as Swami Shraddanand accepted the Arya Samaji's ideas and returned to his native city Jullundur. He founded an Urdu Weekly named S*at Dharam Pracharak* (herald of the true religion) in 1889 for the propagation of the Samaji's ideology. He was the figure who started *shudhi* to reconvert that person into Hinduism who had accepted either Islam or Christianity in past.[553] Another prominent leader of Arya Samaj was Pandit Lakh Ram of district Jhelum. He entered into the anti-Muslim activities. He was very much radical in cow-protection. He advocated Hindi as a medium of government institutions. He was a vociferous critic of Ahmadiyya Movement.[554]

The Arya Samaj also stirred up the Sikh revivalism in the Punjab. Richard Fox argued that the shaping of Singh Sabha movement in the late nineteenth century was the reaction of the Arya Samaj goings-on in the Punjab.[555] The first Singh Sabha was structured in Amritsar in 1873. In 1878 its branch was installed in Lahore. From 1880 to 1900 about one hundred and fifteen Singh Sabhas were launched mostly in the Punjab. The main theme of all these Singh Sabhas was the purification of religion from the polytheism and idolatry. These made the Gurmukhi script and Punjabi language as the most authentic symbol for their identity.[556]

The Lahore Tribune depicted this grim picture of religious animosity and announced that street preaching was very much in trend in those days. All along Anarkali (bazaar), Hindu, Muslims, Christian, Arya and Brahmo[557] preachers were seen earnestly wavering on the excellence of their respective creeds. They were surrounded by the gathering of apparently attentive listeners.[558]

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[552] Kennith jones, "Communalism", 44.
[553] M. R. Jambunathan, *Sawami Shraddanand* (Bombay: Vidya Bhavan, 1961), 112.
[554]Kennith Jones, "Communalism", 46.
[555] Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition*, 247.
[556] Ibid.
[557] Raja Rammohan Roy had Perso-Arabic background and was influenced by the western modernism. He was nurtured in Christian Unitarianism. By these influences he condemned idolatry, polytheism and translated the *Upanishads* into *Bangla* language. He showed that these scriptures contained monotheism. He formed Brahmo Samaj in 1828. Its influences slowly reached Lahore before the establishment of Arya Samaj in Lahore.
[558] The Lahore Tribune, March 30, 1889. As a result of such preachings by the Samajis and Christian Missionaries, the Muslim scholars were stirred for the cause of Islam.

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missionaries. Brahmo Samaj'Lahore branch was formed by Babu Navina Chandara Roy in 1863 and it was soon spread to other cities of the Punjab. One of the activist members of the Brahmo Samaj was Sardar Dayal Singh who founded Dayal Singh College Lahore. As a result of this religious contestation cleavage between the three communities of the Punjab Muslims, Hindus and the Sikhs widened considerably. [559]

As a result of the above mentioned activities of the Christian missionaries, Araya Samajis, Brahmo Samajis Muslims of the Punjab rose to protect their religion from these attacks. Anjumans were being formed in the big cities of -the Punjab to counter the propaganda against the religion of Islam.

3.3 Muslims and their responses to Munāzara Tradition

Muslim Ulamā took serious actions against the new challenges posed by the advent of Christian missionaries. They used themselves the polemical techniques of *munāzara* such as open debates, written tracts, and translation of the scripts into vernacular language that were introduced by the Christian. In the meanwhile, they turned towards the up-gradation of the Muslim community.

Muslims Ulamā was conscious of the increasing activities of Christian missionaries and Arya Samajis.[560] The activities of these missionaries caused religious animosity. Conversion to Christianity was mainly among the low caste people because of economic purpose.[561] On the other place, Sikhs were strident opponents of the Muslims, especially in Amritsar District. Kenneth Jones had stated an event of the murdering of several Muslim butchers in Amritsar in the year 1871 under the cow protection.[562] That had many effects in worsening the religious ethos of Punjab. In 1905 in a village Chamkor near Sirhind, the Sikhs and Muslim Gujjars had a militant confrontation over the onslaught of a cow. The main Muslim leader among the Muslim was an *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar Maulana Abdullah Rupari (1884-1964). The

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[559] Tahir Kamran, "Punjab, Punjabi and Urdu, The Question of Displaced Identity—A Historical Appraisal" *Wichar*, 13. Also See Haider Ali Agha, "Political Economy of Identity Formation, 1890-1910: Class and Community in Colonial Punjab" *Vision,* 17, 2, 122.

[560] P. M. Holt and Bernard Lewis, (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Islam*, 3 Vols. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 2A: 87-88.

[561] Rowena Robinson, *Christian of India*, 60-61.

[562] Kenneth W. Jones, "Communalism in the Punjab: The Arya Samaj Contribution," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 28, (November 1968): 41.

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Prayers, the Sikhs attacked the Muslims. In the revenge, the Muslims killed some thirty to forty Sikhs.[563]

In this state of antagonistic, the Muslim Ulamā also responded the Christian missionaries and other Non-Muslims to bring themselves into the pamphlet war another technique which was introduced by the Christian missionaries. Urdu was now the language of the Indian Muslims Muslim. Ulamā also used the technique of translation of the original texts of the scriptures into local languages. It made the religious texts easily communicable to the readers.[564] This modernist technique also brought about changes in the textual norms and network of dissemination of Muslims religion. As Veena Naregal very aptly points out that, "the colonial rule was able to alter textual norms, networks of patronage and dissemination and the ways in which natives described and assessed their world."[565] It may further be argued that the translation of religious scriptures also led toward official efforts "to standardize codes and fix scripts for the native languages so as to rapidly transform indigenous textual traditions which were hitherto current mainly through oral transmission".[566] These developments were also helpful in the standardization of prose in local languages as well as fixing their syntax. In this context, we may cite the example of the Punjabi prose. Apart from setting up printing presses missionaries also played a curial role in the standardization of the Punjabi prose and fixing its syntax.[567]

The Muslim Ulamā used this new technique extensively for the dissemination of religious knowledge. Ulamā translated the Holy Quran according to their own ideas. Only in the Urdu language from that time onwards within a century, dozens of translations of the Quran were produced in the Sub-continent.[568] Every translator introduced his own ideas in which particular sect he belonged. "By the

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[563] Ishtiaq Ahmad, *Punjab; Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unraveling the 1947 Tragedy Through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 467.

[564] Mubarak Ali (ed), "Hindustani Islam" in *Seh Mahi Tarikh* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2003), 207. This specific task of the translation into local languages was deeply influenced by the Martin Luther's (1483-1546) translation of Bible into German in 1522 which had made religious text easily available to literate persons. It also broke the religious monopoly of Christian Monks.

[565] Veena Naregal, *Language, Politics, Elites and Public Sphere: Western India under Colonialism* (London: Anthem Press, 2001), 53. Also see Trevor Ling, *A History of Religion*, 335.

[566] Ibid.,157

[567] Ian Talbot, *India and Pakistan*, 61.

[568] Irfan Nayyer, "Quran-i-Majeed kay Urdu Tra'ajam," Mahnama Zia-i-Haram 35, 12, (September 2005): 33 1Francis Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change", 241.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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thousands."[569] Through this translation of scriptures (Quran and Hadith) into vernacular languages, the monopoly of Ulamā was challenged.[570]

Another important agency of modernization which affected the process of the Muslim revival and reform was the introduction of print. The print came to be the main forum in which religious polemical debates was launched. While emphasizing the significance of print culture Francis Robinson asserts that the sources of Islam such as the Quran and the Hadith became easily available in increasing numbers.[571] But my contention is that this translation of original texts into local languages also provided the Ulamā the options of diffusing their personal ideas through a new interpretation of this text.

As far as the answer to this question that why the Muslims came to use printing is concerned three plausible explanations may be provided. The first is that perhaps they felt that 'without political power, Islam itself was at stake and print could be a useful tool for the purpose of defending Islam.'[572] The print could have enabled them to counterpoise the propaganda of the Christian missionaries with their own tracts. Secondly, in the wake of conversion by the Christian missionaries, they apprehended that through the press they could approach the lower masses of the Muslims. Thirdly, they also realized that the Islamic law could not be implemented without political power and in the absence of political patronage; it was through the print medium that the awareness towards Islamic law could be created. The dissemination of knowledge through printing amongst Muslims may amply be gauged by the fact that during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century over seven hundred newspapers and magazines in Urdu were launched.[573]

Besides these, the Ulamā used the western and missionary techniques for the proliferation of their beliefs. It was the period of tract war. Ulamā, as well as common people, studied for attaining knowledge of Islamic tradition and of western civilization because it was possible through the rapid growth of print culture. All who

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[569] Robinson, "Technology and Religious Change", 233.
[570] Ibid., 241
[571] Ibid.
[572] Ibid., 232.
[573] Ibid., 233.

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The introduction of the printing press by missionaries in India also benefited Muslim scholars like for dissemination of their books and *fatawā*. In this way, Muslim religious and political life was fostered.[574]

As a response to the Christian missionaries' proselytization, the Ulamā counter them. At the same time, they stood for the purification of their religion from the outsider elements. Deoband, *Ahl-i-Hadith*, and Barelvis all were conscious of the activities of the Christian missionaries and the Arya Samajis. As a result of this encounter, their slogan was 'Return to the Quran'. The Ulamā laid the burden of responsibility on individual Muslim. They proclaimed that by practicing the Holy Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet only they could be uplifted from the present status of *Zillat* (humiliation).[575] Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914) wrote *Musaddas* and used the term *tanazzul* (decline) for the present condition of the Muslims. For spreading the Muslim consciousness of individual responsibilities and to counter the propaganda of *Shudhi, the Tablighi Jamaat* was formed in 1927 by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas Kandhalvi.

Another religious reformist Movement which also played its part in the creation of the religious animosity in Punjab was the Ahmadiyya Movement. It was too the product of the colonial milieu. Ahmadiyya Movement sprouted from a town named Qadian in Tehsil Batala, District Gurdaspur. In the early of 1870s, Ghulam Ahmad emerged as a champion of Islam primarily stood against the activities of the Christian Missionaries. He started to defend Islam. He also refuted the activities of Arya Samajis and Brahmo Samajis.[576] He did so by writing several articles in newspapers and journals refuting the Christian missionaries as well as Arya Samajis. His earliest articles were published in *Manshur Muhammadi, Vakeel, Safeer I Hind* and *Riaz-i-Hind,* all of which were published from Amritsar, Lahore. He also used to write in *Ishaat-ul-Sunnah* published by his friend Muhammad Hussain Batalvi.[577] Late on the Muslims of Punjab at once turned against him because he claimed to be

[574] Francis Robinson, "The Ummah in 21st Century," 107.
[575] Ahbar Zaidi, *Contested identities,* 22.
[576] Zafarullah Khan, *Ahmadiyyat: The Renaissance of Islam* (London: Tabshir Publications, 1978), 16.
[577] Ibid. Muhammad Hussain Batalvi became his worst enemy when he claimed to be the Promised Messih.

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be a Prophet.[578]

3.4 *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Munāzara Tradition

Here are the descriptions of those written and face to face details of *munāzaras* conducted by the *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in colonial Punjab. Although it was not the goal of this movement yet they considered it necessary for the defense of Islam. Some debates had only hagiographic sources because no alternative source was available.

The new *Munāzara* style changed the religious harmony of colonial Punjab into religious animosity. This section deals with certain accounts of *munāzaras* conducted by the *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars against the non-Muslims (inter-religious debates) as well as against the other sects of the Muslims (intra religious debates). Against the Non-Muslims, their claim was that they were defending Islam, whereas they stood against the other Muslim sects considering them as *bid`atti* or *musharrak*. The phenomena of *bid`att* and *shirāk* remained their hallmark throughout the history of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in India.

Tracts were published mostly in Urdu[579] language and circulated on a broader scale. Through these tracts, the opponents were challenged for *munāzara* or *mubahla*[580]. The Ulamā of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement used the techniques of the Christian missionaries for the dissemination of its religious discourse. The *Ulamā* of this movement adopted several methods of indoctrinating their teaching such as street-preaching, preaching at religious festivals and *urs* ceremonies on the shrines of the Muslim Sufis and pamphlet preaching as well as of loudspeakers, printing presses, and publications.

3.4.1 Munāzaras of *Ahl-i-Hadith* with non-Muslim Communities: Christian Missionaries, Arya Samajis, and Sikhs

Polemical Debates with Christian Missionaries

The Writing of Polemical Essays

As the missionaries started preaching Christianity in Punjab, Muslim Ulamā apprehended with this. Ghulam-ul-ali Qasuri (1826-1889) was the first *Ahl-i-Hadith*

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[578] H. A.Walter, *The Religious Life of India: The Ahmadiya Movement* (Calcutta: Association Press, 1918), 16.

[579] With the fall of Mughal power Urdu became the language franca of the Muslims. In this language Muslim *Ulamā* debated, wrote and published.

[580] A specific type of *munāzara* by which the both the group collectively pray for the extinction of the liar.

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was the responses of the missionaries which they raised on the Finality of the Holy Quran and miracles of the Holy Prophet. He answered in this book that the Holy Quran was out of Transposition of the words.[581] For some years Muhammad Hussain Batalvi engaged with Christian Missionaries and started to write with Ghulam Ahmad (the founder of a separate sect Ahmadiyya Movement) in his own journal *Ishaat-al-sunnah*. Sana Ullah among the *Ahl-i-Hadith Ulamā* was in the forefront in refutations of Christian missionaries. To escape the Muslim from conversion into Christianity and clarify the issues raised by the missionaries he wrote a number of pamphlets and books. He wrote *Taqabal-i-Salasah* (Comparison of Three) which was published for the first time in 1901 from Amritsar consisted of 150 pages. The second time it published in 1904 from Sanai Press Amritsar. It published for dozen time until. It was written in the response of Padre Thakar Das's *Adam Zarurat-i-Quran* (No Need of Quran). It was a comparison of three revealed books *Torah, Bible, and Quran.* [582]

Another pamphlet named *Tauheed, Taslees aur Rah-i-Nijat* (Oneness of God, Trinity, and Way of Salvation) was written by Sana Ullah and was published by Sanai Press Amritsar.[583] It was written in 1913 to aware his co-religious people from Christian beliefs. In this pamphlet, he disapproved the beliefs of Christians and paid logical argument on the truthfulness of Islam.[584] The techniques he used in this pamphlet was Question-answered based. For example.

> Padre: with the reference of Quran Jesus was born without a father. So Jesus was elevated from Prophet Muhammad in this regard that Abdullah was the father of Muhammad.
>
> Sana Ullah: Being without a father was not the quality of Superiority If yes then Adam had excellence over Jesus as he was born without both the father and mother but Christian believed that Jesus was dignified than Adam. Maulana declared that the feature of the creation of Jesus without father showed the Powers of God Almighty.
>
> Padre: Mary, the mother of Jesus was the most distinguished from all the women; so her son Jesus was an epithet of all the Prophets.

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[581] Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-e-Ulamā-i-Punjab,* 1:406.
[582] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Tazkara Abul Wafa Sana Ullah Amritsari* (Gujranwala: Nadvat ul Muhadisseen, 1983)*,* 66.
[583] Ibid., 67.
[584] Ibid.

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mother was something else than the born.

Padre: At the birth of Jesus several miracles appeared such as; the dried palm tree was hanged with dates and a spring was sprouted.

Sana Ullah: These were the symbols of God's Omnipotence.

Padre: Jesus spoke in his infancy and was bestowed by Bible. In the light of which Jesus was superior to Muhammad as he was bestowed with the Prophet-hood at the age of forty.

Sana Ullah: It also indicated God's all-powerfulness. Similarly, as Jesus was bestowed *Nabuwat* in infancy, the Prophet John (Yahya) was gifted with prophet-hood in his Childhood.

Padre: it was proved from the Quran that Jesus was elevated to save from the enemies onto skies whereas Muhammad was not lifted at the time of blockade by infidels when he was migrated to Medina.

Sana Ullah: This showed the dignity of Muhammad that he was so high before God that there was no need of any apostle. Furthermore, if Muhammad would be lifted up to God the preaching mission of Islam remained incomplete and how would the prophecy of the Bible turned out to be true that after Jesus the dignified prophet would come.

Padre: The body of Jesus was alive instead of having physical needs of eating, breathing etc. so he was superior to the others.

Sana Ullah: It also indicated God's all-powerfulness.

Padre: As Jesus had created animals, cured the ailing persons and gave the lives to dead, so he was dignified than Muhammad.

Sana Ullah: Whatever Jesus created was the feature of God and the personality of Jesus had no possession of himself in these.

Padre: Jesus had informed the people what they had eaten and what had saved. This indicated that he had *īlm-i-ghaib* (fore-knowledge).

Sana Ullah: Quran declared that the prophets were given this knowledge by revelation. Muhammad and other prophets had this quality. So there was nothing for calling Jesus the superior to all prophets.

Padre: Quran had related the sins of all the prophets even of Muhammad because he had prayed to God for his forgiveness.

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indirectly by addressing the concerned Prophet.

> Padre: Jesus was still alive whereas Muhammad had died. The dead and alive were not equal and ultimately Jesus was better-quality prophet.
>
> Sana Ullah: If it was true then according to Christian belief when Jesus remained dead for three days after Crucifixion his followers were dignified from him.[585]

All this debate showed that padre had a deep knowledge of the Muslim religious texts. The answers given in the response of the padre had lacked from logical reasoning.

Jawabaat Nasara (Answers to Christians)[586] another book consisted of three tracts. *Muaraf ul Quran* (Understanding the Quran, first published in *Ahl-i-Hadith* Amritsr in 1918) was in the response of *Haqaiq-i-Quran*. *Asbaat-i-Tauheed* (Proofs of Oneness of God, published in1926) in the refutation of *Asbaat-i-Taslis* [587] *Tum Isa'ai Kion Hoa* (Why You Became Christian, published in 1928) was in the repudiation of *Mein Isa'ai Kion Hoa* (Why I Became Christian, published). [588] In the form of a book, it was published in 1930 from Amritsar. *Islam aur Masiheyat* (Islam and Christianity)[589] and *Nimaz-i-Arbah* (Prayers of Four Religion) were also written by Maulana Sana Ullah.[590]

Ahmad-ud-Din Gakharwi (1900-1973) was another prominent *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar who wrote against Christianity. His book *Burhan ul Haqq* was the refutation of Carl G. Pfander's *Mizan ul Haqq*. He also refuted the book written by Padre Thakar Das against the Status of the wives of the Prophet Muhammad with a book *Zarba-ul-Muslameen ala Ras-ul-Ta'ain fi Shan Ummahat-ul-Moamaneen* (Strikes of Muslims to the Base of Denials of the Status of the Wives of Muhammad).[591]

Face-to-Face Munāzaras

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[585] Ibid.
[586] The book was consisted on three parts in which the answers of the Christian Missionaries were given.
[587] It was in the contradiction of a Christian converted from Islam named Abdul Haqq who wrote *Asbaat-i-taslees* (Proofs of Trinity; the union of the Father, Son and angel Gabriel).
[588] This was also in the falsification of a convert Sultan Muhammad.
[589] This was beautiful comparison of the two major religion of the world.
[590] It dealt with the methodology of performing prayer of the four religions; Hindu, Arya, Muslim and Christian. Also see Fazl ur Rehman, *Sana Ullah Amritsari*, 159-185.
[591] Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-e-Ulamā-i-Punjab,* 1:91-92.

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in 1910. It was claimed by *Ahl-i-Hadith* that Sana Ullah was victorious and a family from Christianity was converted to Islam as a result of this religious debate.[592] On September 6, 1916, again Jawala Singh debated with Sana Ullah in Hoshiarpur. The issue of this *munāzara* was the originality of the Quran.[593] Anjuman *Ahl-i-Hadith* Gujranwala held an annual session on February 27, 1926, in Gujranwala. Padre Mahmud Sultan Paal debated with Sana Ullah on the matter of Oneness of God. According to *Ahl-i-Hadith* sources priest was defeated and a Christian who was presented in this gathering accepted Islam.[594] Sana Ullah had disputed with Christian missionary Abdul Khaliq in Hafizabad on September 2, 1928.[595]

All these examples of *munāzara* indicate that *Ahl-i-Hadith Ulamā* used this technique for the propagation of their stance that Islam was in a danger and we were the savior of Islam. We would protect Islam from the Hindus and the Christians. They gathered the common Muslim and framed them into their fold and got popularity among the Muslims. The Sufis remained in their hospices and the gap was filled by the *madrasa* trained students of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and other Muslims reform movement like Deoband.

Arya Samaj and *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement

Initially Ghulam Ahmad (1837-1908), later the founder of Ahmadiyya sect in Punjab had begun his religious polemical debates with Arya Samajis. He, first of all, challenged the Arya Samajis by writing a book titled *Surma Chasham Arya* (Antimony Powder of Arya's Eye). With this Arya Samajis were stirred up and everywhere they started challenging the Muslims. From Lahore to Calcutta the whole atmosphere was disturbed and polemical debates were in progress.

Muslim religious leaders came into close polemical tension with the Arya Samajis. The religious tension was a result of the Arya and Muslim counter-

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[592] Safi ur Rehman, *Fitna-i-Qadianiyyat aur Maulana Sana Ullaha Amritsari* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Muhammadiyya, 2007), 58.
[593] Ibid.
[594] Ibid.
[595] Ibid.

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insulting the religion became much fashion. Hindu-Muslim tension heightened and resulted in the occurrence of violence that was stimulated by the contentious writings which included the character elimination of the sacred personalities of the other's religion. For example, the Arya Samajis insulted the religion of Islam through attacking the personal life of Prophet Muhammad, worsening Hindu-Muslim relations.[597]

Tract War

Sana Ullah Amritsari[598] was a prominent figure among the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Punjab who worked for the protection of Muslims from reconversion to Hinduism. He professed that his temperament was diverted towards *Munāzara* since his student life.[599] He wrote *Haq Prakash* (Real Light) to counter the famous book *Satyarth Prakash* The Light of Truth) of Dayanand[600] in around 1900. The fourteenth chapter of the *Satyarth Prakash* was written against the principles of Islam.

Dayanand had raised one hundred and fifty nine objections on the finality of the Quran. One of them was on the very first verse of the Quran. Dayanand blamed that the first verse exposed that the Quran was not a Holy script revealed by God. According to him if the Quran was the Book of God, then, it would not be started in the Name of God; instead, it should be started as for the welfare of humanity. Sana Ullah had referred a portion of *Rig Veda*, part I which had begun with the admiration of *Agni* (Hindu Deity). Sana Ullah had discussed these objections in detail and had given the reasons why the revealed books started with the powers of God.[601]

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[596] Farhana A. Nazir, "A Study of The Evolution Of Legislation On Offences Relating To Religion in British India and their Implication in Contemporary Pakistan" (PhD Diss., University of Edinburg, 2013), 83.
[597] Ibid.
[598] He studies religious knowledge from Maulana Ghulam Rasul Qasmi, Maulana Ahmad Ullah Amritsari, Maulana Ahmad Hasan Kanpuri, Hafiz Abdul Manan Wazirabadai, and Sayed Nazir Hussain. He had indulged in *munāzara* activities and debated in hundreds of these *munāzara*s. Also see. *Urdu Encyclopedia*, Ferozsons Lahore, 387.
[599] Imam Khan Noshahrvi, *Naqush-i-Abu ul Wafa* (Lahore: Islami Academy, 1998), 23.
[600] Dayanand published *Satyarth Prakash* in 1875, in which he condemned all the other religions including orthodox Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. For him only the Vedic Hinduism was the true religion. In the fourteenth chapter of this book, he criticized Islam. See Jones*, Socio-Religious Reform Movements,* 97.
[601] Fazl ur Rehman, *Sana Ullah Amritsari* (Lahore: Dar ul Dahwa Salafiya, 2001), 59-63.

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refuted these questions in such a way that the Muslims thought them enough to *Satyarth Prakash* and felt that there was no need of disapproving this book by any other Muslim scholars. For addressing these questions raised by Dayanand, Sana Ullah had to concentrate on the books of the religious scholars of the early period of Islam. These included the scholars of Hadith included Imam Bayhaqi (994-1066) a Nishapuri scholar, Ibn Hajjar (1372-1449) an Egyptian scholar and Ibn Qayyum (1292-1350) a Syrian scholar of Islam. He also consulted the Muslim reformers such as Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) a Syrian purist reformer, Shah Waliullah, Qazi Shaokani (1759-1839), a Yemeni reformer. Theologian whom books he studied were Ibn Hazam (994-1064) a Spanian jurist and Abdul Kareem Sharistani (1086-1153) a Persian scholar of the theologian. Among the philosophers were Imam Algazelus (1058-1111) an Iranian philosopher and Imam Razi (1149-1209) a Persian philosopher.[602]

Another tract *Tark-i-Islam* (The Abandonment of Islam) was written by a converted Arya Samaji Dharampal. He was a native of Gujranwala and his name was Abdul Ghafoor. He had a hateful attitude towards the Muslim *Ulamā*. He entered into the circle of Arya Samaj on June 13, 1903. The tract was actually his lecture delivered in the temple at Gujranwala. His lecture was published by the Arya Samaj. The Pamphlet, he wrote had created a serious nervousness among the Muslims. He criticized the finality of the Quran. He made some one hundred and sixteen objections to Islam. Sana Ullah wrote *Turk-i-Islam* (Power of Islam) to refute Dharampal. The Muslims of Punjab felt so happy about the publishing of this book. He was reconverted to Islam after ten years in 1913. He also issued an annual Urdu journal *al Muslim* from Ludhiana [603]

A book named *Rangila Rasul* 'The Amorous Prophet' was published by Rajpal in Lahore in May 1924 whose writer was unidentified.[604] In this book, the writer described the alleged sexual incontinence of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). It was an attempt to insult the Prophet, Muhammad.[605] The newspaper Wakeel Amritsar wrote in his publication on September 6, 1924, that the style of the book *Rangila*

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[602] Ibid. Also See[602] Abdul Majeed, *Seerat Sanai*, 251-59.
[603] Fazl ur Rehman, *Sana Ullah Amritsari,* 59.
[604] Nazir, "A Study of The Evolution Of Legislation", 83.
[605] Punjab Administration Report, 1927-28, 3.

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Province. This was a very aggressive stance of the Arya Samaj.[606] Sana Ullah wrote a pamphlet named *Muqadas Rasul* (The Holy Prophet) which dealt extensively with the refutation of the *Rangila Rasul.*[607]

His newspaper *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar* started writing in the defense of Islam. Other religious newspapers were busy in repudiating the contents of *Rangila Rasul*. This work of Sana Ullah was admired by the *Ulamā* of the other Muslim sects. Deobandi *Ulamā* such as Maulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani, Maulana Saraj Ahmad and Maulana Habib ur Rehman wrote appreciation letters to Sana Ullah.[608] Against the Arya, Samajis Sana remained in front of the line of the Muslim scholars and he wrote about 31 responses.[609]

On the other hand, the editor of the *Daily Partab* wrote in support of the Pamphlet 'Rangila Rasul'. He claimed that it was the right of the Arya Samaj to criticize the life of Prophet Muhammad as the Muslims had criticized Budha, Nanak, and Dayanand.[610]

It increased the communal tension in the province, particularly in Lahore. Farhana Nazir in his Ph.D. dissertation related that before the pamphlet had been banned, after much religious opposition from the Muslim community, had been received, 1,000 copies were in circulation.[611] Rajpal was prosecuted and convicted under section 153-A of Indian Penal Code as on offence for fashioning the feelings of hatred between against the Muslims. The Sessions Judge wrote that the said pamphlet

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[606] Wakeel Amritsar, September 6, 1924.
[607] Ibid.
[608] Fazl ur Rehman, *Sana Ullah Amritsari*, 66.
[609]Famous among these are: *Haq Prakash* (Real Light) against *Satyarth Prakash* (The Light of Truth), *Turk-i-Islam* (Power of Islam) to refute *Tark-i-Islam* (Leaving Islam). *Elhami Kitab* (Revealed Book) relating to the accounts of his *Munāzara* against Mater Atma Ram, *Muqadas Rasul* (The Holy Prophet) in the reutation of *Rangila Rasul* (The Colourful Prophet), *Kitab ul Rehman Vedas hay ya Quran* (Is the Quran the Book of Rehman or *Vedas*), *Chahar Vedas* (The Four Vedas), Nikah-i-Arya (Marriage of Arya), Usul-i-Arya (Principle of Arya), Hazrat Muhammad, al Quran ul Azim, *Hindustan kay Doo Reformers* (Two Reformers of India) is agaist Dayanand and Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani, *Hadus-i-Ved* (Novelty of Ved) and Elham (Revelation).
[610] The Partab, July, 1924. in Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar, 24 August 1924.
[611] Farhana Nazir, "A Study of The Evolution Of Legislation On Offences Relating to Religion in British India and their Implication in Contemporary Pakistan" Ph. D Diss., university of Edingurg, 2003, 84.

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to the religious feelings of the Muslims.[612]

But the decision of the Session Judge was set aside by the Lahore High Court. Justice Dalip Singh wrote that section 153-A was intended to prevent an attack on a community but not to stop polemics writings against religious leaders. He decided that Rajpal's conviction was illegal and Rajpal was released on 4th May 1927. This judgment brought chaos among the Muslims of Punjab particularly.

In May 1926, an occurrence of riots resulted in the killing of twenty-seven persons and injuring of about three hundred.[613] The tension was further aggravated in the next month with the publication of a paper entitled *A trip to Hell*. These were against the private life of the Prophet Muhammad.

Face -to-Face Munāzaras

Arya Samajis challenged Muslim Ulamā in open debates. Once an unorganized debate held between Sana Ullah Amritsari and unspecified Arya Samaji. The Samaji was preaching in the bazaar in Amritsar and was challenging that the *Vedic Faith* had every type of social and moral laws, and he claimed that it was the only religion that was the embodiment of morals and social values. His own language was not compatible with his statements. He was using rough language against other religions. Occasionally, Sana Ullah was there among the audience. He went straight towards that Arya Parcharak and said, O instructor, you had asserted about your faith that it had a set of guidance for all walks of daily life. It was apparent from your conversation the crowd was preparing to close their ears with their fingers to escape your dry voice.[614] I told you that our religion Islam had such a moral model. God spoke in the Quran and said to the followers, to make your voices decent because the donkey's voice was the most rigid among all the voices.[615] He further had pointed out to that preacher in this way; had your religion any restriction about the manners of verbal communication? With this according to *Ahl-i-Hadith* sources, the *parcharak* had to flee from the stage.[616]

[612] Rajpal v. Emperor, AIR 1927 Lahore, 590.
[613] Punjab Administrative Report, 1927-28, 3.
[614] Abdul Majeed, *Seerat Sanai*, 113-4.
[615] Quran, (31:19)
[616] Abdul Majeed, *Seerat Sanai*, 114.

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Muslims. In 1928 an Islamic assemblage was held at Lahore on the topic of polygamy. Sana Ullah had discussed in detail the philosophy of polygamy. He supplemented that why the Muslims are allowed to have four wives at a time. While Sana Ullah was busy in distributing his lecture, an Arya Samaji Pandit appeared at the stage and asked permission for questioning. He was allowed for the debate. He started with the protest that this attitude of Islam towards women was not natural. He added that if polygamy was natural then Adam, according to Muslim's belief the first man on earth, should marry four or more than four wives instead of one Eve (the mother of mankind). It was the most urgent to increase the population of human beings on the earth for the settlement in the beginning.[617]

Sana Ullah paid full attention to the arguments of *Pandit* with patience and came back with the answer; at the time of Adam there was only one woman Eve whom Adam got married and if other women would have been available, he had inevitably celebrated marriage with them. According to Islam polygamy was not unnatural. Sana Ullah argued in response that Karishin Ji Maharaj and other *Rishis* had several wives at a time. So, it had closely linked with the nature of man to have more wives. [618]

In 1920 Sana Ullah debated with Pandit Dharam Bhikshu in Chauk Neemwala Amritsar on the topic of *hadus ruh* (the novelty of spirit). This *munāzara* continued for two days with intervals and ended without any decision.[619]

A religious competition was detained between two unspecified Arya Samajis professors and Sana Ullah at Dial Singh College Lahore in 1921. The chairman accepted that the Arya Samajis had not prepared for this discussion.[620]

Perhaps the most non-serious discussion was that between Sana Ullah and an Arya Samaji Mahasha Dharam Pal. They disputed on the matter of flesh-eating. Three men a Sikh, a Christian and a Sanatan were appointed as judges of the *munāzara*. The Arya Samaji munazar first spoke and argued that flesh-eater (carnivorous) nations were comparatively more sensual than herbivorous. With this, he argued in favour of

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[617] Ibid., 153.
[618] Ibid., 154.
[619]Ibid., 402.
[620] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Tazkara Abul Wafa Sana Ullah Amritsari* (Gujranwala: Nadvat ul Muhadiseen, 1983), 29. Also see Majeed Sohdari, *Seerat Sanai*, 408.

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place because Mahasha *Jihad* started a non-logical way of discussion and he had to answer in that language as well. Some woman acted upon this request but some remained in the place. Afterwards, Sana Ullah started his speech and differed with the viewpoint of Mahasha Ji. He said that it was wrong that flesh-eating increased sexuality but the reality was the other way round. He gave examples from animals that ate grass and grain like cock, cock-sparrow, he-goat, and the bull was more promiscuous than a carnivorous lion. Mahasha Ji accepted his mistake and judges declared the victory of Sana Ullah.[621]

On 24 May 1944 once again the Arya Samajis arranged a *munāzara* with Sana Ullah and this time Ram Chandar was called from Delhi. Professors, Advocates and common people of the three communities; Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim were drawn together at Hindu Mahasabha College Amritsar. According to *Ahl-i-Hadith* sources, Sana Ullah was acknowledged as victorious.[622]

3.4.2 Munāzaras of *Ahl-i-Hadith* with Muslim sects: Hanafis (Deobandi and Barelvi), Shia, Ahl-i-Quran, and Ahmadis

Hanafi and *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conflict

The followers of Imam Abu Hanifa are called *Hanafi*. They called themselves *Muqallid* (followers). They are further divided into two sects; Deobandi and Barelvi. As the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement started flourishing in India, *Ulamā* of this movement involved in sectarian issues, with the traditional Sunni *Ulamā*.[623]

Deobandi and *Ahl-i-Hadith* Differences

The non-conformist thrust of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and de-emphasis of its teachings on following of any specific school of Jurisprudence (*Fiqh*). They emphasized direct recourse of the Holy Quran and the *Hadith*. They strongly opposed the prevailing four schools of Islamic Jurisprudence. Moreover, an account of this predisposition *Ahl-i-Hadith* came to be known as *Ghair-i-Muqallid* (rejecters of *taqlid*) as they were bitter critics of blind following.[624] To discuss the nature of religious debates that took place

[621]Majeed Sohdari, *Seerat Sanai*, 410.
[622] Ibid., 406.
[623] The Board of Editors, *A History of Freedom Movement*, 1:384.
[624] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 141. Also see Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodian of*

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and converging points of these two sects of the Muslims.

Ahl-i-Hadith movement has certain commonalities with a Deobandi school of thought. These are mostly in the field of beliefs. Deobandis like *Ahl-i-Hadith* respect Imam Ibn Taymiyya, Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdul Aziz, Shah Ismail Shaheed, and Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab as well. Rasheed Ahmad Gongohi, the founding father of Deoband has regarded Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab as a pious man and having pure beliefs.[625] Beliefs relating prophetology, Deobandi mostly stand with *Ahl-i-Hadith*.i.e denying *Īlm-i-ghaib* (Knowledge of unseen things) of the Holy Prophet, rejecting Muhammad's role of intercession with Allah and mankind, refusing *hazar-o-nazar* (present and hearing) of Muhammad spiritually or physically, defying the expression of calling *Ya Rasul* Allah or *Ya Muhammad* at the time of seeking help from the Holy Prophet (*Istimadād*), resisting the celebration of Prophet's birth anniversary (*majlis-i-milād*), *Nafi Simah-i-maota* (the dead in their graves have no power of listening), debating against *imtinah-i-nazir* (the impossibility of an equal) in favour of *imkan-i-nazir* (the possibility of an equal), *tasawwur-i-Shaikh* (seeking *baraka* from remembering the name of his pir) is not legitimate in *Shariah* refraining from kissing the thumbs of both hands when the name of Muhammad is called in *azan*, and renouncing 'urs relating gatherings as well as celebrating *Muharram* ceremony.[626] Rashid Ahmad Gongohi maintains that the beliefs of *Muqallid* and *Ghair-i-Muqallid* are the same and the differences are in the ritual practices only.[627]

Notwithstanding these likenesses, there are certain differences between these two sects. *Ahl-i-Hadith* extremely negates *taqlid* whereas Deobandis are staunch *Hanafi* and the latter consider the following of Imams of *fiqh* compulsory for the common people. Deobandi is petty followers of Imam Abu Hanifa (699-767), despite *Ahl-i-Hadith* consider that Abu Hanifa has a little knowledge of the scores of the *Hadith* and he had learned only limited numbers of *Hadith* (that reached the number

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Change (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 24. Also see Sana Ullah Amritsari, *Ahl-i-Hadith ka Mazhab* (Chechawatni, Pakistan: Maktaba Muhammadiyya, 2006), p. 58.

[625]Rashid Ahmed Gangohi, *Fatawā Rashidia* p. 297.

[626] Interview with Muhammad Sahib Khan a Deobandi Scholar in village Kotnaja (Sargodha) dated January 25, 2011.

[627] Rashid Ahmed Gangohi, *Fatawā Rashidia* p. 77.

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Deobandis. These comprise *rafa-i-yaddan*, *ameen bil jahr*, *fatiha khalf ul Imam*, *rakaat-I-witar*, *rakaat-i-tarawih*, *jumma fi qaryah*, and divorce etc.[629]

Ahl-i-Hadith declared Deobandis as *bid`atti* on the basis of just following of specific school of *fiqh*. *Ahl-i-Hadith* denied such following of any Imam of fiqh. *Ahl-i-Hadith* considered that Imam Abu Hanifa was *tabah tabai* (the disciple of *tabai*) but the Hanafi both rejected this notion and believed that he was *tabai* (the disciple of any companion of the Prophet Muhammad).

Sayed Nazir Hussain Delhvi in his celebrated book *Mihyar ul Haqq* claims that several scholars of Hadith proclaimed that of Abu Hanifa was *tabah tabai*. He criticized that no Hadith was related by Abu Hanifa from Ans bin Malik (the companion of the Prophet Muhammad). He further refers that in the early days of Abu Hanifa only four companions of the Prophet Muhammad were alive. According to Sayed Nazir Hussain, there was no evidence of any meeting between Abu Hanifa and them.[630]

On the other hand, Deobandi and Barelvi both acknowledged that Abu Hanifa was a *tabai*. They quoted Iman Khatib Baghdadi, Imam Abdul Barr, Allama Zahhabi and Hafiz Ibn Hajjar to prove their claim. They also asserted that only sighting of *Sahaba* was sufficient for the tittle of *tabaiat.*[631] Abu Naeem Asfahi in his book *Masnad-i-Abu Hanifa* related that Abu Hanifa himself claimed that he paid a visit to Ans Bin Malik (companion of the Prophet Muhammad) while he was offering his prayers.[632]

Taqlid-i-Imameen Arhbah (following of the four Imam of fiqh) was another point of diversion between *Hanafis* and *Ahl-i-Hadith*. *Mihyar ul Haqq* and other writings of Sayed Nazir Hussain made the viewpoint of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan also wrote extensively on this issue. He wrote *Itebah ul*

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628 Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti in Syed Abu Bakhar Ghaznavi, *Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi* (ed) (Lahore: Maktaba Ghaznavia, 1974), p. 136.

629 *Ahl-i-Hadith* raised hands while saying Allah-o-Akbar (Allah is the Greatest) before knelling at *rukuh*. The loud *Ameen* remained their peculiarity throughout their history.

630 Among them were Shaikh Abu Tahir, the writer of Majmah ul Bihar, Hafiz Ibn Hajar, Qazi Muhammad bin Ali Shoakani and many others scholars of Hadith. See for full detail Sayed Nazir Hussain, *Mihyar-ul-Haq*, 29-49.

631 Maulana Sarfraz Khan, *Maqam-i-Abi Hanifa* (Gujranwala: Maktab-i-Safdariyya, 1993), 82-83.

632 Abu Naeem Asfahani, *Masnad-i-Abu Hanifa* (Islamabad: Majmah ul Bahus ul Islamiya, 2000), 176.

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Rashid Ahmad Gangohi[634] lengthily pondered over this issue and concluded that *Taqlid* was binding on the Muslims. He cited a verse from the Holy Quran in favour of his claim. But, on the other hand, he arrived at the conclusion about the goodness of the beliefs of *Ghair-i-Muqallids* (*Ahl-i-Hadith*). He further acknowledged that all *Muqallid* and *Ghair-i-Muqallids* were the same in the domain of beliefs. [635] But it did not leave any mark on the followers of Deoband and they indulged in *munāzarana* activities with *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Muhammad Ismail Salafi declared that on the matter of the life after the death of the Prophet Deobandi belief was very close to Barelvis.[636]

The Polemical Writings

The debates on divergent issues were abundant on both sides. *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* criticized Hanafis school of thought and charged that their doctrine was based on merely *ra'y*.[637] Maulana Sana Ullah Amritsari wrote several pamphlets on critical issues. These included; *Fatuhat Ahl-i-Hadith* (Victories of *Ahl-i-Hadith*), *Ahl-i-Hadith ka Mazhab* (Religion of *Ahl-i-Hadith*), *Hadith ul Nabvi aur Taqlid Shakhsi* (Tradition of the Prophet and Following the Foot-steps of Someone), *Tanqeed-i-Taqlid* (Criticism on Following), *Ijtihad o Taqlid* (Interpretation and following) and *Mahqulat Hanafiya* (Logic of Hanafis) etc.[638]

Hakim Muhammad Ashraf Sandhu (1897-1964)[639] wrote *Nataij al-Taqlid* (Conclusions of Following), *Shihab-i-Saqib*, *Maqam-i-Ahl-i-Hadith,* and *Tareekh al-Taqlid*,[640] In this regard a Deobandi *alim* Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani wrote *I'la al-Sunnat* in twenty-one volumes and proved that the Hanafi opinions were based on the Hadith rather than personal judgement of Imam Abu Hanifa or his followers.[641] Muhammad Idris Kandhalvi wrote *Dalil ul Furqan ala Mazhab al Nauman* to show

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633 Ateeq Amjad, *Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan ki Khiudmat e Hadith* (Lahore: Bait-ul-Hikmat, 2007), 92. 68.
634 One of the founding personalites of the Deobandi sect in India.
635 See Quran, (21:7) *Fas alo ahl ul Zikar inkun tum la tahlamun*. (if you do not know then ask from the well-informed people) For detail see. Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, *Fatawā-i-Rashidiyya* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Rahmaniya, 2000), 70-77.
636 Muhammad Ismail Salafi, *Tehreek-i-Azadi-i-Fikr aur Shah Waliullah ki Tajdeedi Masaai* (Lahore: Maktaba Azizia, 1990), 368-69.
637 Personal judgment.
638 Majeed Sohdari, *Seerat Sanai*, 242.
639 He was an *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar.
640 Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-e-Ulamā-i-Punjab*, 2: 623.
641 Qasim Zaman, *The Ulamā in Contemporary Islam,* 41.

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follower of Hanafi doctrine of *fiqh* published a book *Jamia al Shawahid fi Ikhraj al* Wahabi*an an Al Masajid* (Detailed Evidence for the Exclusion of Wahhabis from the Mosques) to stop the entrance of *Ahl-i-Hadith* followers in the Sunni mosques.[643] This pamphlet got five responses from the *Ahl-i-Hadith Ulamā*. These were: *Imarat al-Masajid* (Building of Moeques) by Maulana Muhammad Saaeed Banarsi, *Jamia al-Fawaid* (Details of Benefits) by Maulana Muhammad Abdullah, *Kashif al-Makaid* (Opening of Deceits) by Maulana Abdul Ghani Jonagarhi, *Baraat Ahl-i-Hadith* (Exemption of *Ahl-i-Hadith*) by Hafiz Abdullah Ghazipuri and in the shape of poster by Muhammad Hussain Batalvi.[644] Muhammad Ismail Salafi wrote *Imam Bukhari ka Maslak* (The Way of Imam Bukhari), Ziarat al Qubur (Visitation of Graves) and Rasul Akram ki Namaz (Prayer of the Prophet).[645]

In addition to the above mentioned *munāzarana* books and tracts, the newspapers also played a vital role in shaping harmonious Punjab into a hostile one. From Amritsar *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar Sana Ullah launched *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Barelvi started al-Faqih Amritsar.[646] *Al-Adl Gujranwala* was launched by Maulana Ahmad Ali Deobandi, was instrumental in opposing the *Ahl-i-Hadith* standpoint.[647]

Face-to-Face Munāzaras

Once, Muhammad Hussain Batalvi went to Deoband to meet Muhammad Qasim Nanutvi. Both talked about the issue of *taqlid* and *ijtehad*. When the debate was over, Batalvi nicely asked Nanutvi that it was very strange that a man like you was *muqallid*. You had the status of *mujtahid*. And at once Nanutvi with smiling face replied that he himself was astonished that a person like you was *ghair muqallid*.[648] It was also reported that Qasim Nanutvi pleaded that he was the follower of Imam Abu Hanifa and only his interpretation could be quoted and not of Imam Abu Yousaf and Imam Muhammad neither of Alama Murghanani. Batalvi declared that it was a

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[642] Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-e-Ulamā-i-Punjab,*Vol.II, 609.
[643] Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-I-Ahl-i-Hadith* Vol. II, 628.Also see Mufti Muhammad Abd'uh, *Tahreek-i-Ahl-i-Hadith kay Chand Auraq* (Few Pages of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement), (Faisalabad: Jamia Salafiya, 1991), 46.
[644] Muhammad Abd'uh, *Tahreek-i-Ahl-i-Hadith kay Chand Auraqi,* 49.
[645] Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-e-Ulamā-i-Punjab,*Vol.II, 618.
[646] Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-I-Ahl-i-Hadith* Vol. II, 491.
[647] *Ahl-i-Hadith* Amritsar, November 18, 1932.
[648] Manazar Ahsan Gilani, *Sawanih Qasmi,* 2 Vols. (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Rehmaniya, 1960), 1: 22-23.

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Ulamā Maulana Muhammad, Maulana Abdul Aziz and Maulana Muhammad Ismail of Ludhiana in 1877.[650]

Munāzara Bhera (Sargodha) was tied between *Muqallidin* (Hanafi) and *Ghair-i-Muqallidin* (*Ahl-i-Hadith*) 0n 12-13 September 1871 in Jamia Masjid Bhera (district Shahpur). The topics under discussion were *Istimadād* (intercession from the Prophet Muhammad and other pious people), *Imkan-i-Nazir* (the possibility of an equal, whether God could create an equal of Prophet Muhammad), the issues of *Taqwiat ul Iman* (Strengthening the Faith), *Rafah yadain*, *Ameen bil jahr* and repetition of *Surrah-i-Fatiha* along with Imam. Maulvi Hakim Noor ud Din[651], Gharagh ud Din Goldsmith, Ahmad ud Din Piracah were representing the *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Among the Sunni *Ulamā* were Maulana Abdul Aziz Bugvi, Maulana Ghulam Qadir Bhervi, Maulana Ghulam rasul Chawi, Maulana Ghulm Nabi Lilli and Ghulam Murtaza Beerbalvi. As a result of this debate, the *Ahl-i-Hadith* were socially and morally boycotted and this boycott was challenged in the court of Ram Das Tehsiadar of Bhera. Ram Das declared that the allegation on the Sunni *Ulamā* was proved and fined according to the Article 500 of Indian Penal Laws was imposed on Sunni *Ulamā.*[652]

Throughout their history, *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Hanafi remained busy in *munāzaras* on different topics. Famous among these are listed below without going deep into the debates. *Munāzara* between *Ahl-i-Hadith* and *Hanafi Muqallidin* in Jhelum in 1920, Badhuana district Jhang on October 5, 1920, Chak Rajavi district Gujrat on April 4, 1923, and *manazara* Hafizabad on September 3, 1928.[653] A *munāzara* on the issue of *Rafah yadain* (raising hands to ears while going to *Rukuh*) between Hanafi *Ulamā* Maulana Ghulam Murtaza Deobandi and Maulana Ghulam

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[649] Abdul Rasheed , *Bees Bara Musalman*, (Twenty Big Muslims), (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Rashidiya, 1988), 385.

[650] Abdul Ghafoor Arshad, *Muhammad Hussain Batalvi: Hayat o Khidmat,* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Quddusia, 2003), 37-38.

[651] At that time he was staunch follower of *Ahl-i-Hadith* doctrine but later on he turned towards Ahmadiyya Movement and become the sole spokesman of it. Among the Ahmadiyya, he was raised up to the level after Ghulam Ahmad. He was chosen the first caliph of this movement after the death of Ghulam Ahmad in 1908. He was died in 1914.

[652] Anwar Ahmad Bugvi, *Tazkaar-i-Bugvia* , 185-186.

[653] Maulana Muhammad Muqtadi Asari, *Tazkaratul Munazareen*, 2: 399, 402, 432, 469.

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Ullah Amritsari was held on October 5, 1928.[654]

The *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had to face bitter stiffness in *munāzara*s tradition with the traditional Sunni *Ulamā*.

The above mentioned examples of the polemical debates show that how the *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* was active in the art of defending Islam from the outsider dangers. They actively propagated their religious ideas to the wider audience. In doing so they had to face courts in many parts of the country for instance in the Punjab, United Provinces and Bengal. The core issues, relating to these trials, were of minor importance such as calling of *Ameen bil jahr* and *Rafah yadain.* This showed that there was a sheer inclination from fundamental matters to a minor one. These were not dissolved from the High Courts and ultimately shifted to Privy Council.[655] Maulana Sana Ullah Amritsari had published a pamphlet entitled *Futuhat i Ahl-i-Hadith* from Amritsar. The label of the pamphlet itself was a testimony to the changed outlook of the leaders of this movement who felt pride in such victories over their fellow Muslims. They too regarded their victories in the courts of law as a justification of their religious outlook.[656]

The Barelvi--*Ahl-i-Hadith* Conflict

Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri an *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar wrote extensively against the rituals prevailing in Punjab. To refute Sufism and its practices, he wrote *Risala Asna Ashariya* which negated the *Nida-i-Ghaib* such as Ya Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani *shai'un lillah* (O Abdul Qadir Jilani helped me by the name of God). His pamphlet *Al-Qaul-ul-Mubin* was in the repudiation of *Taqlid-i-Shakhsi*.[657] It was not published during his life. With the efforts of his son Abdul Rahman, it was published in 1926.[658]

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[654] Muhammad Rafique Asari, *Sultan Mahmud Jalalpuri: Hayat, Khidmat, Asar* (Jalalpur, Multan: Asari Edara Nashar o Ishaat, 2006), 78-79.
[655] For the detailed study of these trails see Indian Law Report, Allahabad, Vol. VII, 461. And Punjab Law Record 1888. Foujdari, 4.

[656] Sana Ullah Amritsari, *Futuhat i Ahl-i-Hadith* (Victories of the Ahl-i-Hadith), (Karachi: Maktaba-i-Saudia, 1976).
[657] Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-e-Ulamā-i-Punjab,* 1:406.
[658] Ibid.

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Ahl-i-Hadith Movement as a danger for traditional Islam and strongly opposed this puritanical version of Islam.[659] He termed them as Wahabi and *Ghair-i-Muqalid*. The adherents of this movement wrote against and also debated with *Ahl-i-Hadith* Ulamā. Abdul Sattar, a biographer of Ahmad Raza had mentioned some twenty-three books and booklets in the refutation of *Ahl-i-Hadith* stance of Islam.[660] Famous among these were *Husam al-Haramain ala Manhar al-Kufr wal Main* (The Sword of the Haramain at the Throat of Kufr and Falsehood), *Daulat al-Makkiyya bil Maat al-Ghaibiyya* (The Wealth of Mecca with Matter of Ghaib), *Al-Taqlid, Chabuk bar Ahl-i-Hadith* (A Horse-whip on *Ahl-i-Hadith*) and *Pardah dar Amritsari* etc,

His influences reached Lahore through a group of Ulamā studied under him. He stood to defend the customary practices and the Status of the Prophet-hood as understood by him and his co-religious scholars. Sayed Deedar Ali Alvari spread his message, especially in Lahore. He wrote *Alamat-i-Wahabiyya* (Symbols of Wahabi) to counter the activities of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. He also wrote a book in the defense of saintly intercession named *Istighasa min* Auliya (Intercession with saints). He organized Dar-ul-Uloom Hizb-ul-Ahnaf in Lahore in 1924.[661]

Sultan Mahmud Multani, an *Ahl-i-Hadith* leader wrote *Risala dar rad Wahdat-ul-Wahud* in which he denounced the Sufi contemplation and rejected the prominent theory of Sufism that was propounded by Ibn Arabi. He also wrote in the rejection of *Taqleed-i-Shakhsi* (Personal following).[662] Maulana Abdullah Ropari (1884-1964) wrote several books in the dissemination of *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideology. Famous among these were *Ahl-i-Hadith kay Imtiazi masail* (Distinctive Issues of *Ahl-i-Hadith*), *Rad-i-Bid`at'at* (Refutation of Religious Innovations) and a pamphlet relating to the issuance of Friday Prayers in villages.[663]

Ghulam Dastgir Qasuri (d-1897) also met with Ahmad Raza. He was a staunch opponent of the *Ahl-i-Hadith*. He wrote several books in the defense of traditional Hanafi Islam. One of them was his *Umdat-ul-Bayan fi Manaqab-ul-*

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[659] Sanyal, *Devotional Islam.*
[660] Abdul Sattar, *Imam Ahmad Raza Khan: Aik Mazloom* Mufakar (Lahore: Rumi Publications, 2002), 95-6.
[661] Abdul Hakim, *Tazkara-i-Akaabar-i-Ahl-iSunnat,* 143.
[662] Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-e-Ulamā-i-Punjab,* 1:208
[663] Ibid., 1:342-3.

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1870s. This was a refutation to the *Mihyar-ul-Haq* of Sayed Nazir Hussain. In the same year, his book named *Tuhfa Dastgiria* in the reaction of *Tuhfa Asna Ashria* of Ghulam-ul-Ali Qasuri was published. His book *Zafar-ul-Muqalladin* got much popularity among the circle of traditional Ulamā. It was in the repulsion against the *Zafar-ul-Mubin* written by Maulana Muhiy-ud-Din.

To counter the activities of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Ahmad Raza arrived in Lahore. He prepared a group of scholars who could meet the challenges posed by the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. Maulana Mahram Ali Chishti (1863-1934), Nabi Baksh Halwai and Mufti Hakim Saleem Ullah Qadri (1847-1925) welcomed him.[664] His visit to Lahore for preaching his own version was mentioned by Shah Manan Mian Qadri.[665] Anjuman-i-Naumania was founded in Lahore in 1887 by Mahram Ali Chishti, Maulana Siraj-ud-Din and Khalifa Taj-ud-Din[666] Barelvi Ulam Maulana Mahram Ali Chishti wrote a questionnaire containing ten critical questions relating to check the activities of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Deoband.[667]

The puritanical thrust of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement led them to launch a powerful attack on all those customs which, were widely practiced by common Muslims, these included; *milad sharif* (birth anniversary of Holy Prophet), *fatih*, *simah-i-maota* and observance of various ceremonies associated with death rite, i.e. *Qul sharif*, *Satavan* (seventh-day ceremony after death) and *Chaliswan* (ceremony on a fortieth day after death). *Ahl-i-Hadith* termed the traditional Muslims as innovators.[668] Rejection of contemplation and attempts to expunge Sufism remained the hallmark of this movement as they were emphasizing on this-worldly responsibilities rather than out-worldly asceticism (denial of this world and bodily contemplation) of the Sufis.[669]

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[664] Majeed Ullah Qadri, *Imam Ahmad Raza aur Ulamā-i-Lahore* (Lahore: Progressive Books, 1999), 22. Mahram Ali Chishti was one of the founders of Anjuman Naumania Lahore (1887) which helped in fostering Barelvi viewpoint in the Punjab.
[665] Shah Manan Mian Qadri, *Sawanih Ahla Hazrat Barelvi* (Karachi: Ameen Brothers, 1972), 156-57.
[666] Majeed Ullah, *Imam Ahmad Raza aur Ulamā-i-Lahore*, 52.
[667] Ibid., 41.
[668] Muhammad Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-I-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 4 Vols. (Delhi: Maktaba Tarjaman, 2008), 4:38-56.
[669] Ibid.

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intercessionary rituals. They thought these customs to be a danger to true religion. *Ahl-i-Hadith* considered that *Īlm-i-ghaib* (knowledge of unseen things) is only the power of God rather than with Prophets and saints while *Ahl-i-Sunnat* (*Barelvi* School of Thought) believe that all the Prophets and saints have the knowledge of incidents before happenings (*Īlm-i-ghaib*). In fact, Ahl-*i-Sunnat* (*Deobandi*) stands with *Ahl-i-Hadith* in this matter. *Ahl-i-Hadith* declared that *Īlm-i-ghaib* (including *Uloom-i-khamsa*) refers to only God Almighty and no one knows this knowledge. [670]

Shiite and *Ahl-i-Hadith*

The Polemical Writings

Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan wrote a book *Kashaf ul Iltabas* to clarify the debatable issues with Shia sect of Islam and firmly proved the Sunni outlook regarding four caliphs of Islam.[671] Sana Ullah Amritsari wrote a book *Khilafat ul Muhammadi* (Caliphate of Muhammad) in favour of *Khulafa-i-Rashdeen* (Four Pious Caliphs).[672] Bahadar Ali Shah (d-1916),[673] a Shia scholar was famous for his polemical debates with other sects of Islam. He wrote a book which shed light on a *Munāzara* occurred at Nagina (Bijnore) in 1891.[674] Abul Hasan bin Sayed Naqi Kashmiri (1846-1924) wrote *Risala dar behis Aqad Umm-i-kalsoom* (Discussion on the Marriage of Umm-i-Kalsoom)[675] and *Mihrajia Dar Asbaat-i-Mihraj* (Proofs of Ascension of the Prophet to Heaven).[676] Sayed Sajjad Hussain, a Shia religious scholar challenged a book named *Tanvir-ul-Ainain* in 1912 which was about the dignity of the Pious Caliphs. He quoted five verses of the Quran which according to him proved the caliphate of Ali (cousin of the Prophet Muhammad).[677] Similarly, Mirza Ali Beg Qazalbash wrote *Ayat-i-Jalli fi Shan-i-Ali* in 1912.

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[670] Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 1:182.
[671] Abdul Rasheed Iraqi, *Tazkara Hafiz Abdul Mannan*, 64.
[672] Safi ur Rehman, *Fitna-i-Qadianiyyat*, 67.
[673] Bahadar Ali Shah was a renowned Shia scholar belonged to Haiderabad Deccan but his publications reached Punjab and were benefited by the other Shia *Ulamā*.
[674] Sayed Murtaza Hussain , *Matlah Anwa'ar* (Karachi: Kharasan Islamic Research Centre, 1981), 132.
[675] Sayed Murtaza Hussain , *Matlah Anwa'ar*, 56.
[676] Ibid. This was in the retaliation of the new belief of *Ahmadiyya* and *Ahl-i-Hadith* that the Ascension of the Prophet to Heaven was a high grade dream of the Prophet Muhammad.
[677] Hussain Arif Naqvi, *Barr-i-Saghir kay Imamia Musanafeen kee Matboa Tasanif aur Tarajum*, 2 Vols. (Lahore: Markaz-i-Tahqeeqaat Farsi, 1997), 1:29.

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by Muhammad Siddiq (an *Ahl-i-Hadith alim*). Sayed Ali al-Hairi (d-1939) a Shia cleric accepted the challenge of *Ahl-i-Hadith Ulamā* and retorted the published pamphlet *Kia Rafzi ka Quran par Eman hay* (has Shia believe on the Quran?).[678] In addition to this, he made strong arguments in his speech at Lalkhuh Lahore on the issue of *Eid Mubahla* (the day when Prophet with his family arrived for debate with Christian delegate of Najran) which later on published in the shape of a pamphlet.[679]

Nawab Mohsin ul Mulk (the real name was Mehdi Ali Khan, 1837-1907) the main figure among the Aligarh Movement belonged to *Ahl-i-Hadith* perspective. He wrote *Ayat Bayyanat* in which he bitterly criticized Shia sect. This gained several responses from the Shia side. One was from Sayed Ibad Hussain's *Rami al-Jamaraat* (Throwing stones on Satan) and another from Sayed Ghulam Haider's Baraheen al-Ayat.[680]

Mirza Ahmad Ali Amritsari (1882-1970) was also active against the Sunni School of Islam. He was aware of the activities of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Amritsar and was a witness about the religious misery of Shia in Amritsar. He wrote books, engaged in *munāzara*, delivered religious sermons to the Shias of Amritsar. Afterwards, he made Lahore as a center for his religious activities. He also published a newspaper named *Shia* to counter the attacks of the Sunni pamphlets and newspapers. In *al Insaf fi Istakhlaf* (Just in the Matter of Caliphate) he proved that the caliphate was the right of Ali (fourth Pious Caliph) instead of Abu Bakar.[681] Sayed Imdad Hussain Kazmi (1901-1975) wrote *Barkaat ul Muharram*[682] in the response of *Bid`atat ul Muharram* written by an *Ahl-i-Hadith alim* Bashir Ahmad Pasruri (1906-1974).[683]

The Face -to-Face *Munāzara*s

Mirza Ahmad Ali Amritsari had to face a *Munāzara* at Gujranwala against the collaborative group of Sunni *Ulamā*. According to Shia sources, he was

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678 Ibid., 33-34.
679 Ibid., 33.
680 Ibid., 310.
681 Murtaza Hussain, *Matlah Anwa'ar* (Karachi: Khurasan Islamic Research Center, 1981), 92-93.
682 Ibid., 108-9.
683 Akhtar Rahi, *Tazkira-e-Ulamā-i-Punjab,* 1:139.

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in 1920. The issues under discussion were a matter of inheritance of the Prophet Muhammad and *Bagh-i-Fidak*.[685] Shia claimed that this *Bagh-i-Fidak* was the right of Hazrat Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad whereas the Sunni point of view was that all the property left by the prophets went to the offerings, (*sadaqat*).

On March 10, 1924, a written debate was held between Shia and Sunni *Ulamā* at Khanpur (Hoshiarpur) on the legitimacy of the first three Pious Caliphs.[686] Three adjudicators were appointed for the judgment of this *munāzara*; two from the concerned parties and one from the Non-Muslim community.[687]

Another debate was taken place between Ahmad Ali Amritsari and Sana Ullah Amritsari on 18 May 1924, at Mandi Warbriton district Sheikhupura. The issues under discussion were; the issue of *Khilafat*, Prayer of *Tarawih* (night Prayer in Ramazan only) and the issue of washing feet in ablutions.[688]

On 4 July 1946, a religious debate was reported by Sana Ullah Amritsari in his newspaper. According to him the village Kirpala in district Layalpur (Faisalabad) was the center of Shia activities and they used to irritate the Sunni Muslims. A debate was fixed for *Munāzara* in the Jamia Mosque *Ahl-i-Hadith* Kirpala. Maulana Muhammad Siddique Kirpalvi was the Munazar of, *Ahl-i-Hadith* and from the Shia, the side was Maulana Muhammad Ismail Sahiwalvi. The subject under discussion was the *Sadaqat-i-Mazhab Shia* (The Righteous of Shia Sect). This debate continued fthe or two hours and according to the source of *Ahl-i-Hadith,* the Judge declared that the arguments of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Ulamā were strong.[689]

As a result of the above mentioned attacks on the Shia religious beliefs and practices by the reformist *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Deoband, a revivalist streak within Shia community arose. For instance, Sayed Akbar Ali (d-1910) wrote a book named *Tahqeeq Aniq* in which he spoke against the customary beliefs; *Khatoon-i-Jannat ki Sahnak (Bibi ki*

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[684] Al Najam Monthly Lakhnow, Shahban, 1923, 3.
[685] Majeed Sohdari, *Seerat Sanai*, 411.
[686] Ibid., 422-3.
[687] Ibid.
[688] Ibid.
[689] *Ahl-i-Hadith* Amritsar, 16 August 1946.

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had a limited influence among the Shia community and was soon refuted by a Shia traditional *alim* Sayed Abid Hussain Ansari (d-1912). He wrote *Andaz al-Nazareen* and supported the traditional standpoint regarding *niaz o nazar* (veneration).[691]

Ahl-i-Quran and *Ahl-i-Hadith*

The founder of this new sect Ahl-i-Quran was Maulana Abdullah Chakralvi who had denied the authority of the Hadith in the religious affairs. He declared that only the Quran had such authority. But the *Ahl-i-Hadith* stressed on the authority of both the Holy Quran and the Hadith. A historical debate was held at Lahore between *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Ahl-i-Quran on July 14, 1906. Maulana Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti was representing *Ahl-i-Hadith* while the founder of the movement *Ahl-i-Quran* Maulana Abdullah Chakralvi was himself present for the debate.[692] The issue was on the legitimacy of Hadith in daily life. The following conditions were imposed by both parties; Firstly, everyone had to take reference from the Quran for the proof of his claim. Secondly, any argument against the prescribed rules and regulation of Arabic grammar would be discarded. Both the parties claimed their victory in the debate.[693]

***Ahl-i-Hadith* and Ahmadiyya Movement**

Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* along with other Muslim *Ulamā* were in forefront of disapproving the claim of Ahmadiyya Movement. Ahmadiyya Movement was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani (1837-1908)[694] in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Ghulam Ahmad claimed that he was the Promised Messiah and Mahdi.[695] The Sunni and Shia religious literature had several *Ahadith* about the appearance of these two personalities. According to these the signs of the coming of the last day will be the appearance of both the personalities.[696] It was the age when English literature and English education influenced the life of locals and hence the

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[690] Hussain Arif Naqvi, *Barr-i-Saghir kay Imamia Musanafeen kee Matboa Tasanif aur Tarajum*, 1:140.
[691] Ibid., 133.
[692] Maulana Muhammad Muqtadi Asari, *Tazkaratul Munazareen*, 1:281.
[693] Ibid., 288.
[694] Ghulam Ahmad was born in Qadian a town in Gurdaspur. He was the founder of Ahmadiyya movement.
[695] H. A. Walter, *The Religious Life of India: The Ahmadiyya Movement* (Calcutta: Association Press, 1918), 25.
[696] Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi, *Saif-i-Chishtiai* (Lahore: Printing Professionals, 2004), 82-88.

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disseminated his religious ideas by publishing two newspapers, one in the local language Urdu named *al-Hakam* and one in English named the *Review of Religions*. His teachings were an attempt of extreme rationalism in the field of religion.[698]

The international academic literature on the Ahmadiyya movement gives us the impression that the response of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement toward the latter was not very much different from that of the other sects. As the other sects were labeling each other as "kafirs" (heretics or non-Muslims), likewise they considered the Ahmadis as "kafirs" or heretics. It was only in 1952 there occurred a paradigmatic shift in the attitude of the religious parties towards the Ahmadiyya when all the sects of Muslims in Pakistan developed a consensus that Ahmadis were "kafirs"(emphasis added). They declared that the Ahmadiyya belief on the issue of *Khattam-e-Nabbuwwat* (the finality of the prophet hood) fundamentally differed from the other sects of Muslims. And they can not be called as Muslims unless they change their belief.

I emphatically disagree with the view that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* finally became convinced of declaring the Ahmadis as "kafirs" in 1952. Without strating the debate about what kind of views the other sects held about the Ahmadiyya sect before 1952, I would like to assert emphatically in the enquiry that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars had taken an ideological position regarding Ahmadiyya sect since the late 1880's that the Ahmadis were "kafirs".
Maulana Muhammad Hussain Batalvi (editor of a newspaper *Ishaat-al-sunnah*) who was a close friend of Ghulam Ahmad[699] became the main opponent of him on the issue. He secured a *fatawā* from many prominent *Ulamā* of different Muslim sects.[700] Later he complied the *fatwa* in the form of a booklet got it published. It was the very first *fatawā* about the infidelity of Ghulam Ahmad and his followers.[701]

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[697] J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (Toronto: Macmillan company, 1915), 21.
[698] Ibid., 137.
[699] Through six volumes of his journal *Ishaat ul Sunnah* Muhammad Hussain Batalvi had declared the Brahin-i-Ahmadiyya (book of Ghulam Ahmad) the masterpiece of the century. See for detail. Ahmad Faiz, *Mehr-i-Munir* (Lahore: Pakistan International Printers, 1969), 204.
[700] Among them were Sayed Nazir Hussain Delhvi, Family of Abdullah Ghaznavi, Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gongohi (1829-1905), *Ulamā* of Lakhukay, *Ulamā* of Delhi, Anjuman *Ahl-i-Hadith* Wazirabad, *Ulamā* of Kapurthala, *Ulamā* of Rawalpindi, *Ulamā* of Batala and Gurdaspur etc.[700]
[701] Actually it was not the very first *Fatawā* but the first collection of *Fatawā*s. Shorash Kashmiri declared that the very first *fatawā* against Ahmadiyya Movement was issued by two Hanafi *Ulamā*

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ما کان محمد ابا احد من رجالکم ولکن رسول اللہ وخاتم النبیین

پاک و ہند کے

علمائے اسلام کا اوّلین متفقہ فتوے

"مرزا غلام احمد قادیانی اور اس کے پیرو کار دائرہ اسلام سے خارج ہیں"

مرتبہ

مولانا محمد حسین بٹالوی

ایڈیٹر "اشاعۃ السنۃ" لاہور

ناشر

دار الدعوۃ السلفیۃ، لاہور
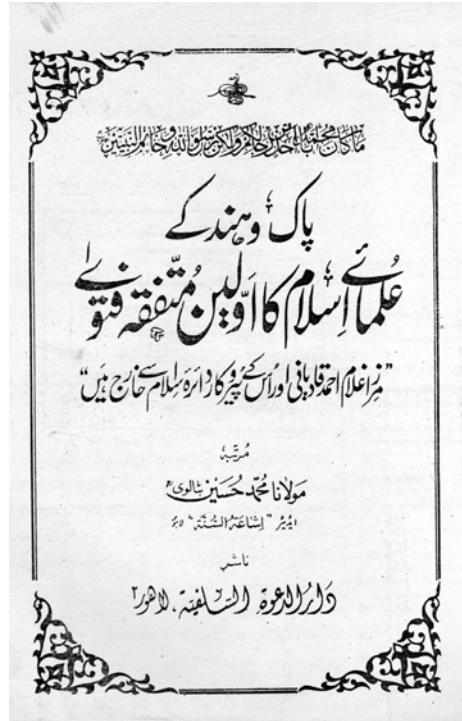
Figure 3.1 presents an image of the the booklet that Muhammad Hussain Batalvi had compiled. Later the publisher gave it the title "*Pak-o-Hind kay Ulama ka Awwalian Mutaffiqa Fatwa 'Mirza Ghulam Ahmad aur us kay Parookar Diara-i-Islam say Kharij Hain*'"[The First Unanimous Fatwa issued by *Ulama* of India and Pakistan 'Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his followers are not entitled to be called as Muslims'"]. In 1899 Muhammad Hussain Batalvi was also able to convince the government to constrain Ghulam Ahmad from publishing any prophecy about the disgrace of any person. The Government of Punjab isuued a specific order on 24 February 1899 on the issue.[702]

When Ghulam Ahmad challenged Pir of Golra for religious debate, he also challenged eighty-six other Muslim *Ulamā* of India belonging to the other sects of Islam. Among them were several *Ahl-i-Hadith Ulamā* like Maulana Nazir Hussain

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named Maulana Muhammad Abdullah and Maulana Abdul Aziz in 1890. See Shorash Kashmiri, *Sayed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari*, 124.

[702] H. A. Walter, *The Religious Life of India*, 43

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Hussain Batalvi,, Maulana Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi, and Maulana Abdul Mannan Wazirabadi.[703] The above mentioned *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were staunch opponents of Ghulam Ahmad and his modernist movement.

Maulana Sana Ullah dedicated himself to the polemical debate with other religions as well as against the other sects of the Muslims but his main focus was on the refutation of Ahmadiyya Movement. He permanently wrote in his newspaper *Ahl-i-Hadith* Amritsar against the Ahmadiyya stance from its beginning in 1903 to 1947. In addition to this, he wrote thirty-four pamphlets and participated in dozens of *munāzara*s to clarify the Muslim point of view. Some of his pamphlets were late on collected by Almi Majlis Tahafuz-i-Khatma-i-Nabuwwat Multan and published in a single volume named *Ihtisab-i-Qadianiat*.[704] Famous among these were; *Ilhamaat-i-Mirza* (Revelation of Mirza)[705], *Aqaid-i-Mirza* (Beliefs of Mirza)[706], *Hindustan kay Do Reformers* (Two Reformers of India)[707], *Tahlimat-i-Mirza* (Teachings of Mirza) and Ajaibat-i-Mirza (Miracles of Mirza).[708] Ghulam Ahmad on these humiliations repudiated Sana Ullah and published a pamphlet *Maulvi Sana Ullah ka sath Akhri Faisla* on 15 April 1907. In it, he prayed from God for the death of a liar in the life of other.[709] The reality was that Ghulam Ahmad died in 1908 while Sana Ullah in 1948. Further, Sana Ullah along with other *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Sunni *Ulamā* participated in many *munāzara*s against Ahmadiyya movement. Famous among these were; Inaami Mubahsa Ludhiana (April1912)[710], *Munāzara* Amritsar (April 1916)[711], Mubahsa Sargodha (December 1916)[712], Mubahsa Dera Ghazi Khan (May 1917)[713], Series of Mubahsa From Hoshiarpur to Gujranwala (Octobar 1917 to January 1918)[714], Mubahsa Layalpur (August 1918 to September 1919)[715], *Munāzara* Sialkot (October

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[703] Ishtihar Tehreeri Munazra, July 20, 1900. Zia ul Islam Press Qadian in Faiz Ahmad, *Mehr-i-Munir,* 210-214.
[704] See for detail. Sana Ullah Amritsari, *Radd-i-Qadianiat Rasail* (Pamphlets in the Refutation of Ahmadiyya Movement), (Multan: Almi Majlis Tahafuz-i-Khatmay Nabuwwat, 2003).
[705] It consisted on the prophecies made by Ghulam Ahmad and its bitter critique by the author.
[706] The pamphlet dealt with the belief system of Ahmadiyya Movement regarding
[707] This contained critique on the founders of two reformist movements; Aligarh and Ahmadiyya.
[708] Sana Ullah Amritsari, *Radd-i-Qadianiat Rasail*, 5-6.
[709] Ghulam Ahmad, *Maulvi Sana Ullah ka sath Akhri Faisla* in Ghulam Ahmad , Majmua Ishtiharat, (Qadian: Zia ul Islam Press, 1907), 578-580.
[710] Ahl-i-Haith Amritsar, December 10, 1909.
[711] Ibid., May 12, 1916.
[712] Ibid.
[713] Ibid.
[714] Ibid., March 28, 1919.
[715] Ibid., October 31, 1919.

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Munāzara Kapurthala (April, May, Septermber 1921)[719], *Munāzara* Pathankot (November 1928)[720], *Munāzara* Montgomery (October 1929)[721], *Munāzara* Mong Gujrat (October 1930)[722], *Munāzara* Batala (November 1930)[723], *Munāzara* Wazirabad (April 1932)[724], *Munāzara* Lahore (January 1934)[725] and *Munāzara* Layalpur (November 1941).[726]

Maulana Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti wrote a book in 1903 entitled *Shahadat ul Quran* to refute Ghulam Ahmad's stance relating to the claims of Promised Messiah and Expected Mahdi. The book had been divided into two parts, in the first part, Mir Ibrahim tried to prove the uplifting of Jesus to heaven and the second portion dealt with his return from heaven in the original form rather than in shadow appearance.[727] In these *munāzarana* activities the *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement stood for the cause of Islam and as its consequences, they successfully penetrated their ideas to a wider scale of audiences.

It was an admitted reality that among the higher level of *Ulamā*, a *munāzara* technique never gained a popular method of communication. But it was also the fact that in the struggle of preaching and conversion, the majority of *Ulamā* had to use this practice at length. Through this system of polemical debates, Ulamā exerted their powers on the mind of illiterate and half-educated people. In Punjab, the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* exerted their influence on the customs, beliefs, and traditions of the people. However, seldom any mass conversion occurred as a result of *munāzara* activities. But they successfully used this method for attacking the prevalent customary practices. Actually, the *munāzara* tradition in the *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect occupies a special place in the art of bringing the common people into their fold. They loudly announced that they were the true followers of the Quran and Hadith and these two sources had authority in the realm of religion.

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[716] Ibid., October 29, 1920.
[717] Ibid., December 3, 1920.
[718] Ibid., April 29, 1921.
[719] Ibid., October 14, 1921.
[720] Ibid., December 7, 1928.
[721] Ibid., November 1, 1929.
[722] Ibid., Octobar 24, 1930.
[723] Ibid., November, 1930.
[724] Ibid., March 4, 1932.
[725] Ibid., January, 1934.
[726] Safi ur Rehman, *Fitna Qadianiat aur Sana Ullah Amritsari*, 234.
[727] Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti, *Shahadat ul Quran* (Sargodha: Maktaba-i-Sanaya, 2008), 4-5.

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CHAPTER-4

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Political Role of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab 1800-1947

This chapter examines the political role of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in colonial Punjab. I argue in the Chapter that the *Ahl-i-Hadith* cannot be associated or identified with one definite political stance or attitude. Because over the course of almost a century – that is between 1850's and 1947 they took on different positions. Though the movement had assumed a radical and militant character in its early years particularly during the early phases of Mutiny/War of Independence. Therefore, the British had started labeling the *Ahl-i-Hadith* as " Whabis" and because of active participation of some of the followers of the sect in the Mutiny (1857). The British tried to equate " Wahabis" with "baghis" (the rebels). But very soon the followers of the movement abandoned its militant strategy/practices.

The chapter is divided into six sections. Section 4.1 gives an overview of the role of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in the politics. The next section 4.2 show the political scenario of Punjab during the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Section 4.3 deals with the institutionalized bases of the *Ahl-i-Hadith*. It is further divided into two subsections. The part 4.3.1 will concentrate on the constitution of "All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference. The second part 4.3.2 will bring to focus on Anjumans *Ahl-i-Hadith* Punjab that was formed in the different parts of the province. The next unit 4.4 is focusing on the Pan-Islamic tendencies among the *Ulamā* of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement. This unit too is subdivided into two categories; the role of *Ulamā* of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the Khilafat Movement will be discussed in potion 4.4.1 whereas the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith*' role in the support of Ibn Saud will be delineated in 4.4.2 The section 4.5 deals with the role of the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the other political organizations; such as Majlis-i-Ahrar (subsection 4.5.1) and Indian National Congress (4.5.2). In the last, the role of *Ahl-i-Hadith ulamā* in the Pakistan Movement will be discussed (See 4.6).

4.1 Overview

Like many other religious organizations such as Deoband, *Ahl-i-Hadith* worked mainly in the religious domain but could not escape itself in its engagement in the political affairs of the country. Seeing in the broader context the ideological discourse presented by the Muslim reform movements of India worked together in

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creation of separate Muslim Identity. There developed a sense of *Ummah* among the Muslims living in the whole of the subcontinent. In addition to this, the Muslim sought to look forward towards the Muslims living in other parts of the world. There developed a sense of feelings with the Muslims of the world.[728]

The consolidation of the British power in India made the Muslim *ulamā* conscious of their religion. The Muslim *ulamā* were able to call the common people of their community to gather for the cause of Islam. Many reform movements originated to cope with this situation.[729] They undertook to reform Islam by divorce it from the outsider elements. The religious missionary work of the movement helped to create a social change on the basis of their religious faith. This social-religious change was consolidated through the *shariah* which remained the primary concern of the *ulamā* of the reform movements. The *ulamā* wanted to craft such a socio-religious order in which the religious obligations such as the performing of Divine worship; congregational prayers (like as Friday Prayers, *Id* Prayers, and *Hajj*) could be carried out easily.

They were aware of the fact that the provisions of the Quran could not be fulfilled without power and authority. Therefore, the religious revivalist and reform movements moved towards the attainment of power.[730] In the words of Trevor Ling, a professor of comparative religions, the movement of the Islamic reform in India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries shared some common features among themselves. One was the rejections of innovations that Islam suffered during the medieval period. The second was the restructuring of Islamic beliefs and practice in terms of modern thought and civilization. Another feature which he maintained was the political aim of restoration of the Muslim government.[731] This meant that religion of Islam proved a unifying force which also resulted in the creation of a separate state of Pakistan in 1947. But at the same time, it was argued that the followers of the religion of Islam were also divided them into many sects as a result of their

[728] Satish Saberwal, "On the Making of Muslims in India Historically"
[729] Francis Robinson, " The Ummah in the 21st Century" , *The Herald Weekly*, Karachi: Jan. 2001.
[730] S. M. A. Sayed, *The Myth of Authenticity: A Study in Islamic Fundamentalism* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1995), 17-18.
[731] Trevor Ling, *A History of Religion East and West* (London: Macmillan, 1968), 378-9. Trevor ling is professor of comparative religion in University of Manchester.

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modernity.[732] As Lavan Spencer in his book *The Ahmadiyya Movement* described "that the reforming responses among Hindus as the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj, among the Muslims such as the *Ahl-i-Hadith* or Sayed Ahmad Khan, or among the Sikhs, as the Khalsa or Ghadr movements, all tended to cause ideological disintegration in those greater communities."[733] The rise of Muslim Nationalism can be traced in the rise of socio-religious movements like as the Hindu revivalist movements fostered the Hindu Nationalism. There was a close link between the Muslim communalism to Muslim separatism and ultimately to Pakistan Movement.[734]

This chapter focuses on various dimensions of the political role of *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in colonial Punjab. At some levels their role appears similar to that of the Deoband Movement, at least in two respects; firstly, in terms of imparting anti-imperialist consciousness among the Muslim population, secondly, by not following a specific political line. For instance, as of Deoband, it had various groups having diverse political ideas. Though the majority group was dominated by nationalist Muslim, yet the other group was sympathetic towards Pakistan Movement. Similarly, the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* participated in the formation of Jamiat *ulamā* -i-Hind.

4.2 **Contextualising *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Political Scenario of Punjab between 1880-1947**

Before highlighting the role of *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in the struggle for the independence it seems necessary to depict the political scenario of Punjab during the period under discussion. The history of utilizing the religious symbols into mobilization for politics in India goes back to the beginning of the nineteenth century.[735]

After the conquest of India by the British, the *ulamā* had to face some critical issues relating the *shariah*. One of them was that how to decide on the present status

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[732] Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 84.
[733] Lavan Spencer, The Ahmadiyya Movement: A History and Perspective (Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1974), 2.
[734] David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: I. B. Tauris$ Co Ltd, 1988), 61.
[735] Robinson, Francis. Foreword to *Religion, Violence and Political Mobilization in South Asia,* (ed) Ravinder Kaur, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), 7.

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(place of war) or *Dar-ul-Islam* (place of peace). In case India would be declared as *Dar-ul-Harb* then the question arose that either to migrate to another country or wage war against the government of infidels or live under the supervision of a non-Muslim government. If the Muslims attempted, to live in India then whether they would be allowed to take employment under the British. As a result of answering the above-mentioned questions, the *ulamā* gradually indulged in a number of socio-political problems.[736]

The Mujahideen continued their struggle even after the martyrdom of their two main leaders Sayed Ahmad Shaheed and Shah Ismail Shaheed in the battle of Balakot in1831. Afterwards, it split into two factions.[737] The main faction which was turned towards religious reform efforts led by the adherents of Shah Waliullah and Shah Abdul Aziz, while the other preferred armed resistance under Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali and made Sittana its bastion.[738] These Mujahideen sided with Afghans during the first Anglo-Afghan war 1839-42.[739] According to Kenneth W. Jones, this movement 'directly threatened the British rule.'[740] In 1858 British tried to suppress the Mujahideen of Sittana by launching a military operation which destroyed the town. However, the Mujahideen survived and once again re-grouped themselves. During 1862-69 British dispatched three expeditions to crush the Mujahideen. After their decisive defeat in an encounter with the British, their resistance finally broke down and *Jihad* Movement came to an end. *Jihad* Movement inculcated amongst the Muslims of India a sense of collective *Ummah* by establishing the superiority of *sharīʿat* over the *tasawwuf*.[741]

The other faction turned towards the dissemination of religious scholarship. Two of them who popularize the ideology of Sayed Ahmad Saheed in the Indian subcontinent were Sayed Nazir Hussain and Siddiq Hasan Khan. They led towards the

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[736] Mubarak Ali, *The Ulamā, Sufis and Intellectuals* (Lahore: Fiction House, 1996), 144-5.
[737] Jones, *Socio Religious Reforms Movements in British India* , 55.
[738] Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, 54-55.
[739] T.K.Derry, *British History from 1760 to 1964*, (London: G. Bell& Sons Ltd, 1965), 192.
[740] Jones, *Socio Religious Reform Movements, 55.* Also see Thomas R. Metcalf and Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Modern India: An Interpretive Anthology*, (London: Macmillan Company, 1971), 208. And see Ian Stephens, *Pakistan Old Country/ New Nation*, (England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1963), 84.
[741] Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, 55.

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they continued to denounce themselves as Wahabis. They called themselves as *Ahl-i-Hadith*. They continued to flourish during the second half of the nineteenth century. They also showed their loyalty to the British government. Sayed Nazir Hussain refused to acknowledge a *fatwā* to wage war against the British in 1857 that was signed by a large number of Muslim clerks of India. He commented on this *fatwā* that the whole of Delhi had been destroyed by the Mutineers and the conditions for the *Jihad* (Holy war) were not fulfilled. He advised those *ulamā* who were in the favour of *Jihad* that to fight with the British was not justified in any case. They had captured the whole of the country. To fight with the British was as like committing suicide which was not reasonable in any case. Nazir Hussain continuously declared India as a Dar-ul-Aman (the Place of Peace). He also received the title *Shams-ul- ulamā* (the Sun of *ulamā*) from the British Government in the year 1897.[743]

Some scholars even accuse the *Ahl-i-Hadith* that at some point in time in the Nineteenth century, the *Ahl-i-Hadith* were suspected of having being created by the British. The author of the enquiry does not agree with the position. While stressing the point I would like to provide a brief background of the fatwa that Syed Nazir Hussain had issued that the resistance against the British rule could not be sanctified through religion and thus can be termed as "*Jihad*".[744] In fact, it was during the Mutiny/ War of Independence that a number of *ulama* belonging to different sects of Muslims issued *fatwas* against the 1857 War and supported the British[745].

This kind of characterization of *Ahl-i-Hadith* creates an impression that the British had been patronizing *Ahl-i-Hadith* at some point in time. But the author of the enquiry did not find/ come across any evidence to that could lend credence to the accusation. Even if some of the *ulama*s of the movement at some point in time showed pro-British attitude, but we should not extrapolate this sort of posturing to the entire movement, nor could we isolate only the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement for such

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[742] Charles Allen, " The Hidden roots of Wahabism in British India" *Worldly Policy Journal,* 22, 2, (Summer, 2005), 92.
[743] Fazal Bihari, *Al-Hayat Bahda-al-Mamaat*, (Shiekhupura: Maktaba-i-Asria, 1984), 5-6. , 12.
[744] The Appendix 1 provides more details about the position of Ahl-i-Hadith on the issue.
[745] The work of Payam Shahjan Puri(d.2005),provides explicit details of Fatwas the Deobandi , Barelvi, Shitte and the Ahl-i-Hadith Ulamā had issued against the rebels of British, 1857 ka *Jihad*,(Lahore:Taqaqazey Publications, 2001). Weekly Taqazey (Special Number on Jehad of 1857), 15 January 2001.

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responses of the other religious organizations as well.

With the passage of time, *Ahl-i-Hadith* continued to establish itself and exerted its influence in the socio-political scenario of Punjab. It was a movement of whom the adherents were sensitive to the widespread political and social changes of the days. In the same year the Muslims of India formed All India Muslim League in Dacca, *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* constituted All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference in Ara (Bihar). The Muslims were granted the right of the separate electorate in the Minto-Morley Reforms in1909 which proved to be the hallmark of the Muslim separatism.

Contrary to their approaches regarding religion, *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* chose to participate in the political realm. So, this study also focuses on the role of *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in all major political developments in Punjab during the first half of the twentieth century. The period between World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945), was severely marked by the political disorder and insecurity of the Muslims of India. Many movements cropped up during these three decades. These included the rise of Khilafat Movement, Jallianwala Bag, and Boycott of Simon Commission. Majlis-i-Ahrar created fermentation in the political arena of India.[746]

After the passing of the Rowlatt Act in March 1919, which provided the state with additional coercive power to deal with the terrorism, Gandhi proposed to launch his *satyagraha* movement. The movement stated with a strike on 6 April and after Gandhi was arrested it indulged in violence. In Bombay, the response was controlled by the Governor of the Bombay but in Punjab, the condition was seriously worsened. The worst brutal incident was the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh that took place in the heart of the city Amritsar on thirteenth of April 1919. General Dyer on the behalf of Governor Michael O'Dyer ordered his soldiers to open fire on the gathering of *satyagrahis* resulted in the killing of three hundred seventy-nine people. This worsened the situation against the British Government. As a result, this movement was withdrawn by Gandhi.

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[746] Muhammad. Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*. 4 Vols.(Delhi: Maktaba Tarjaman, 2008), 1: 195.

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Movement of 1919. *ulamā* appeared as a new political force on the face of Indian politics. A number of Muslim newspapers and journals had already started writing about their anger with the British Government since the Tripolian and Balkan wars which broke in 1911. The *Comrade*, the *Hamdard,* the *Zamindar* and the *Al-Hilal* extensively wrote against the policy of the British. *Ahl-i-Haith Amritsar* also wrote several articles in the favour of Turkey.[747] Gandhi on the cracking of the only Muslim sovereign state of Turkey united the Hindus and the younger leadership of the Muslims and used its anti-British sentiments. He articulated the pan-Islamic affinity of the Muslims and thus for the first time the Muslims and Hindus came together under his leadership. Many *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect along with their brethren joined the Khilafat Movement.

This unity was short-lived because soon after the collapse of the Khilafat Movement there raised a series of communal riots throughout the country.[748] Now the Muslims were anxious about their future.

The years 1937-46 saw that the power struggle was heightened between the Muslim League and the Unionist Party in Punjab. In the elections of 1937 Unionist was dominated and the Muslim League could win only two seats out of eighty-sixing seats reserved for the Muslims. After the result of this election, the Muslim League tried to recover from this setback. The Muslim League had provided the best leadership and used the symbols of the religion to attract rural poor Muslim voters. Jinnah succeeded to bring several influential pirs into the fold of the Muslim League. He also brought some Deobandi and *Ahl-i-Hadith* influential *ulamā* into the Muslim League. From Deoband Maulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani and Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi remained hand in hand with Jinnah. Two prominent personalities of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect also took an active part in the struggle for a separate homeland. It is notable that both the leaders of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* belonged to Amritsar which was the only Sikh dominated district in Punjab.

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[747] Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar, December, 6, 1912.

[748] Although the situation of the Punjab was not so deteriorating yet it could not remain aloof from the Muslims of the other provinces. Severe Communal riots broke out in District Kohat of the NWF. Similarly Bengal and UP were under the volleys of riots. Just in UP eighty-eight riot were recorded during the years 1923 and 1927. Also See Judith Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 10.

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The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* started to form their organizational structures for the consolidation of the movement and to exert their influence in different political and social events. Some of these organizations were All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference and Anjuman *Ahl-i-Hadith* Punjab.

4.3.1 Establishment of All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference 1906

The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were conscious of the organization of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference was established in December 1906 at Arah (Bihar).[749] Sana Ullah Amritsari played a crucial role in its establishment. Among its founders included: Maulana Abdulla Ghazipuri (d-1918) Muhammad Hussain Batalvi, Abdul Mannan Wazirabadi, Abdul Hameed Suhdari, Abdul Gabbar Ghaznavi, Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti and Maulana Abdul Aziz Rahimabadi (1854-1919).[750] Maulana Abdulla Ghazipuri was elected its first President and Sana Ullah as its first General Secretary.

To introduce All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* throughout the country, a committee of three *ulamā* was framed. They were Sana Ullah Amritsari, Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti (d-1956) and Abdul Aziz Rahimabadi (d-1919). In the next year a working committee was formulated, which was consisted of Qazi Sulamān Mansurpuri, Muhammad Daud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ismail Salafi, and Muhammad Hanif Nadvi (Punjab), Maulana Abul Qasim Banarsi, Hafiz Hameed Ullah (UP), Abdul Wahhab Arvi, Maulana Abdulah Baqi and Maulana Abdullah Kafi (Bihar).[751]

In the beginning, it was not committed to the political issues and the main thrust of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement was religious purification. Later on, one group of *Ahl-i-Hadith* drew close towards Jamiat Ulamā-i-Hind, which was pro-Congress in its features. The pro-Muslim League *ulamā* among the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement may be identified as Maulana Sana Ullah Amritsari, Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti, Maulana Daud

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[749] All India Ahl-i-Hadith Conference was a social organization in the beginning. Similarly Anjuman Ahl-i-Hadith Punjab, Muhtamar Ahl-i-Hadith and Ghurba Ahl-i-Hadith were social organizations of Ahl-i-Hadith. See Baha ud Din, *Tareekh-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 1: 197.

[750] Maulana Abdulla Ghazipuiri was selected as its president. See Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, in Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti, *Ulamā -i-Islam* (Lahore: Subhani Academy, 1992), 31.

[751] Maulana Abul Qasim Banarsi, Abdul Wahhab Arvi, Muhammad Daud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ismail Salafi, and Muhammad Hanif Nadvi also belonged to Jamiat ul *Ulamā-i-Hind* and Congress at the same time.

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and Raghib Ehsan.

However, the All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference did not rise above religious purification and renewal of instruction until 1910. Afterward, holding the meetings of All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference in the different parts of the country became a regular characteristic from 1912 till 1944. During this span of time, it arranged its twenty-four regular sessions. Here are listed only those sessions which were held in the territory of colonial Punjab. All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* held its five regular sessions in Punjab before the partition of India. In Amritsar, its session was held on 14 to 16 March 1913 under the president-ship of Maulana Abdul Aziz Rahimabadi. The second gathering took place in Multan under the patronage of Maulana Abdul Rehman Bahawalpuri, on 9 to 11 April 1920. Its third session in Gujranwala was a mass-meeting, held at the request of Muhammad Ismail Salafi on 14 to 16 March 1924. It was presided over by Mir Ibrahim. Once again it held its session in Multan in 1929. It was also presided over by Mir Ibrahim. The fifth conference was convened in Fatehgarh (Gurdaspur) in 1939.[752]

All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference exerted its influence for the betterment of the Muslims. Where ever the Muslims of Punjab were inflicted by the policy of the rulers the All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* took steps to help their co-religious people. In the year 1935 Nawab of Maleer Kotla banned to offer prayers in the Mosque Loharan as a result of turmoil in Maleer Kotla. Maulana Sana Ullah Amritsari, General Secretary of All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference wrote the Nawab of Maleer Kotla for uplifting the restraint on offering prayers in the Mosque Loharan. As a result of his efforts, the Mosques was reopened for offering prayers. [753]

4.3.2 Anjuman *Ahl-i-Hadith* Punjab 1920

Before the establishment of political organizations of the Muslims, Muslim Anjumans were working in all the big cities of the country. *Ahl-i-Hadith ulamā* participated in these Anjumans. The main stimulating force behind the establishment of *Ahl-i-Hadith Anjuman Punjab* was the successful functioning of *Anjuman-i-Islamia*

[752] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht* (Lahore: Maktabah Salafiya, 2012), 15-17.
[753] Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar, November 8, 1935, 15.

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Muslim a sense of awakening. The Muslims of Punjab benefited from it. It helped in the organization of the Muslims of the province. Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam' main objectives were: to check the activities of the Christian missionaries and Arya Samajis through the *discourse of Munāzara* or tract war, to equip the Muslim children with the modern education and traditional knowledge of Islam. Soon it sprang into the other cities of Punjab. *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* established their own Anjumans on the footsteps of Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam.[754]

Ahl-i-Hadith influence was limited in Lahore the beginning of the twentieth century. Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti stated that in the very beginning of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Lahore it consisted of a minor group. A well known *Ahl-i-Hadith* Maulana Sultan Ahmad (maternal grandfather of Professor Abdul Qayyum) and Munshi Fazal Din lived at Mochi Gate Lahore. A small group of *Ahl-i-Hadith* gathered at the house of Maulana Sultan Ahmad in Lahore and formed *Halqah Ahl-i-Hadith* in 1901. Sultan Ahmad was selected its first president.[755] After 1906 its name was changed as *Halqah Ahbab-i-Ahl-i-Hadith* (Group of Adherents of *Ahl-i-Hadith*). Its membership increased as the time passed on. Now the *Ahl-i-Hadith* people became acquainted with each other and their gatherings were held on the house of Sultan Ahmad on regular basis. They invited different *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and arranged the processions.[756]

The name *Halqah Ahbab-i-Ahl-i-Hadith* was changed in 1920 with *Anjuman Ahl-i-Hadith Punjab.* It was shaped on the aims and goals of All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference. Maulana Abdul Qadir Qasuri (professionally was an advocate settled in Lahore) was nominated as its president and Sana Ullah Amritsari as its *Nazam-i-Ahla* (patron-in-chief). It was reformulated after eight years of its formation in 1928. Qazi Sulamān Mansurpuri was selected as its president and Maulana Abdul Majeed Sohdari as its patron-in-chief.[757]

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[754] Ahmad Saeed, *Anjuman Islamia Amritsar* 1873-1947(Lahore: Edara-i-Tahqiqat Pakistan, 1986), 1-8.
[755] Interview with Maulana Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, a well-known scholar of Ahl-i-Hadith at Lahore on 12 December, 2011. Also See Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, in Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti, *Ulamā-i-Islam*, 31.
[756] Ibid.
[757] Abdul Rashid Iraqi, *Chalees Ulamā-i-Ahl-i-Hadith* (Forty Ahl-i-Hadith Scholars), (Lahore: Naumani Kutab Khana, 2003), 194.

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religious and social activities to foster their ideology. Through these organizations, the *Ahl-i-Hadith* arranged religious and social gatherings in the rural areas as well. It also organized to issue several newspapers and journals.[758]

The Anjuman *Ahl-i-Hadith* was opened in other cities of Punjab as well. Anjuman *Ahl-i-Hadith* Jalalpur Pirwala was organized by Sultan Mahmud Muhadith[759] Jalalpuri on September 16, 1928. The objectives of this Anjuman were; to disseminate the religious ideas of *Ahl-i-Hadith* pertaining to Quran and Hadith, to motivate all the Muslims to live with peace and love and to reform the customs that were contradicted with the *Sunnah* (path) of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Maulana Ismail (Son of Ibrahim Chakralvi) was its member and worked as treasurer of the Anjuman.[760]

All these Anjumans *Ahl-i-Hadith* scattered throughout Punjab were closely linked with the Anjuman *Ahl-i-Hadith* Punjab which was directly under the control of All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference.[761]

Jamiat-ul-Ulamā-i-Hind and *Ahl-i-Hadith*

Maulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahal, Maulana Kifayat Ullah Delhvi, Maulana Ahmad Saeed Delhvi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Majid Badayuni, Daud Ghaznavi, and Maulana Sana Ullah Amritsari played a great role in the establishment of Jamiat Ulamā-i-Hind in 1919. Its first session was held in Amritsar at the request of Sana Ullah Amritsari. Daud Ghaznavi was appointed a member of its working committee. He also remained *naib sadar* (vice president) of Jamiat Ulamā-i-Hind for many years.[762] Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti also joined Jamiat Ulamā-i-Hind in 1919. When this organization showed its pro-Congress attitude, he resigned from the

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[758] Muhammad Abd'uh, *Tahreek-i-Ahl-i-Hadith kay Chand Auraqi* (Faisalabad: Jamia Salafiya, 1991), 99.
[759] Muhadith is one who is the scholar of Hadith.
[760]Muhammad Rafique Asri, *Sultan Mahmud Muhadith Jalalpuri,* (Urdu), (Multan: Asri Edara Nashr o Ishaat, 2006), 60-72.
[761] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Ahl-i-Hadith ki Sarguzasht,* 20.
[762] Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab,* 2 Vols. (Lahore: Maktaba Rehmania, 1998), 1. 181. Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, a renowned scholar of Ahl-i-Hadith Movement had related in his book *Bazm-i-Arjumandan* that three out of total twenty-three members of Working Committee of Jamiat Ulamā-i-Hind belonged to *ulamā* of Ahl-i-Hadith Punjab. They were Sana Ullah Amritsari, Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti and Daud Ghaznavi. See Muhammad Ishaq Bhutti, *Bazm-i-Arjumandan* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Quddusia, 2006), 172-74.

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supervision of Maulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani. Shabir Ahmad Usmani became its first president and Mir Ibrahim as its Naib Sadar (vice president). Mithe r Ibrahim toured the whole of the country and addressed huge gatherings to motivate the Muslims of India for the ,cause of Pakistan.[763] Similarly, Sana Ullah himself regretted that he had made arrangement for the setting up of Jamiat Ulamā-i-Hind and now during the 1940s, Jmaiat Ulamā-i-Hind was taken into the custody by Maulana Mufti Kifayat Ullah, Maulana Ahmad Saeed, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni, and Maulana Hifz ur Rehman.[764] Sana Ullah was alienated from Jamiat Ulamā-i-Hind. He comprehended that it had become a sub group of Congress and had deviated from the objectives of preservation of Muslim rights.

4.4 ***Ahl-i-Hadith* support to Pan-Islamic Cause**

Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* could not remain static what was happening in the other Muslim countries. They took part in the Movements that stated for th,e Muslim brethren. For example, two kinds of their association have been depicted; their role in the Khilafat Movement of 1919 and their association with Shah Abdul Aziz of Ariba.

4.4.1 **Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Khilafat Movement**

Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, along with other leading members of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, took part in almost every national event for the freedom of India from the foreign rule. Maulana Daud Ghaznavi was arrested with Doctor Saif-ud-Din Kachlo during the *Satyagraha* Movement in Amritsar. Abu Bakr Ghaznavi (son of Daud Ghaznavi) relates that on the day of the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh, his father and his uncle Muhammad Ismail Ghaznavi had escaped by a hair's breadth from this event. Both the brothers were going on their way to Jallianwala Bagh after the *Asar* prayers. When they reached the statue of Victoria, they stopped to eat betel-leaf on a nearby shop. In the meantime, General Dyer along with his army passed near them. After eating betel-leaf, they walked towards Jallianwala Bagh. When they reached Krishna Market, General Dyer was coming back after killing a number of innocent people.[765]

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[763] Muhammad Aslam Saif, *Swaneh Hayat Imam ul Asar Maulana Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti* (Mamukanjan, Faisalabad: Jamia Tahleem ul Islam, 1994), 10-20.
[764] Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar, 13 February, 1942.
[765] Abu Bakr Ghaznavi (ed), *Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi* (Lahore: Maktaba Ghaznavia, 1974), 245-46.

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Amritsar. League was presided over by Hakim Ajmal Khan whereas Congress was headed by Moti Lal Nehru (1861-1931). All the arrested political leaders were released by the Government. Ali brothers reached Amritsar after discharging from the jail. First of all, they joined in the Congress session and then participated in the League session. Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) welcomed them in his poetic verses.[766] Daud Ghaznavi was also joined in this session after he was freed from imprisonment. He asked for the repetition of these poetic verses with great passion.[767] He worked in Jamiat ul Ulamā-i-Hind, Khilafat Movement, Ahrar, Congress and All India Muslim League.[768] He created a reasonable place in the political history of sub-continent by means of his political insight and his magnetic power of speech. He took interest in politics during Khilafat Movement and worked hard for achievements of its objectives. At the breakthrough of Khilafat Movement, the time had come for the emergence of new Muslim leadership which drifted from the charge of loyalty towards British Government. Now the Muslim leadership was in the hands of this new educated Muslim *ulamā* belonged to the middle class of the Muslims.

The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* took part in the Khilafat Movement in1919. In the Hijrat Movement during 1920, the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were in favour of it. Maulana Abdul Bari[769] was not supportive of Hijrat and did not issue a *fatwā* in its

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[766] ہے اسیری اعتبار افز ا جو ہو فطرت بلند
قطرہ نیساں ہے زندان صدف سے ارجمند
مشک اذفر چیز کیا ہے اک لہو کی بوند ہے
مشک بن جاتی ہےہو کر نافہ آہو میں بند
ہر کسی کی تربیت کرتی نہیں قدرت، مگر
کم ہیں وہ طائرکہ ہیں دام و قفس سے بہرہ مند
شہپر زاغ و زغن در بند قید و صید نیست
ایں سعادت قسمت شہباز و شاہیں کردہ اند
In the above couplets Allama Iqbal said:
Imprisonment enhances confidence if the nature is elegant
The spring drop becomes blessed inside the shell's prison,
The excellent musk is nothing but a drop of blood
Which becomes musk when it is enclosed in the deer' navel,
However, not everyone gets trained by nature
Only an odd bird is prosperous in imprisonment,
Strength of crow's and kite's wing is not in cage and prey
This grace is reserved for the falcon and the eagle.

[767] Ibid., 96.

[768] Maulana Muhammad Hanif Nadvi , "Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi: Chand Taasurat" in Sayed Abu Bakr Ghaznavi (ed), *Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi* (Lahore: Maktaba Ghaznaviya, 1974), 39.

[769] Maulana Abdul Bari Farangi Mahali was an important figure in the activities of Khilafat Movement. He was teacher of Abul Kalam Azad and Muhammad Ali Johar. In the beginning, he was very much associated with the activities of Khilafat Movement but ultimately he changed his mind and went against this Hindu-Muslim unity. See Faiz Ahmd, *Mehr-i-Munir,* 276.

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was reluctant to support the activities of Hijrat movement.[770] It was the earlier responses of Sana Ullah Amritsari about the Hijrat movement. With the passages of time, he changed his mind. It was asked about the issue that whether India was *dar ul harb*[771] or *dar ul Islam*. He replied that India was neither *dar ul harb* nor she was *dar ul Islam* but according to Muhammad Hussain Batalvi that India was *dar us salam*.[772] Another *Ahl-i-Hadith* leader who was a staunch supporter of Khilafat Movement was Muhyi-ud-Din Ahmad Qasuri (1889-1971).[773] The followers of Khilafat Movement and Hijrat movement used this *fatwā* to their own advantage.

Maulana Daud Ghaznavi claimed that it was he who established Khilafat Committee in Amritsar in 1919 and launched a general awareness scheme about the tyrannies of British. In this backdrop, some of his opponents raised Sayed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari parallel to him. He maintained that he came to know that Ata Ullah Shah knew nothing about the politics of India. He was being used by someone. He paid a call to Ata Ullah Shah in his home. Daud Ghaznavi learned that Shah did not read newspaper neither he was aware of political scenario nor about the core issue of Khilafat. At last Ata Ullah agreed to my urging to spend a few days with me for the knowledge of certain political issues. In a short time, he was fully equipped with the necessary knowledge of the country and about the Pan-Islamic sentiments of the Indian Muslims. Afterwards, this orator had beautifully played a significant role in the religious and political history of the Indian Muslims.[774]

Paisa Akhbar wrote an explanatory note about the meeting of Khilafat Committee Amritsar on 31 October 1919. It was presided over by Maulana Noor Ahmad and Maulana Daud was performing the duties of its secretary. Daud Ghaznavi delved deeply into the nature of Khilafat. He broadly spoke that only the Sultan of

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[770] Roznama Paisa Akhbar, June 11, 1920. Also see M. Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politics: A Study of the Khilafat Movement 1918-1924* (Leiden: Konin Klijke Brill, 1999), 186.

[771] First of its kind in India the *fatwā* declaring the country *dar-ul-harb* was issued in 1804 by Shah Abdul Aziz Delhvi. It embodied his strong reaction to the British occupation of Delhi. But so far as the Juma and Eid prayers were concerned in India was not any problematic to Shah Abdul Aziz. He once again declared that although India was *dar-ul-harb* yet he suggested that Muslims should offer these prayers. See Sayed Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Shah Abdul Aziz*, 577-78.

[772] Sana Ullah Amritsari, *Fatawā-i-Sanaiyya*, 2 Vols. (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Ashab ul Hadith, 2010), 2: 360.

[773] Naeem Qureshi, *Pan-Islam in British Indian Politic,* 186.

[774] Shorish Kaashmiri, *Sayed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari: Sawaneh o Afkar* (Lahore: Matbuat Chatan, 1973), 48. Also see Naveed Shahzad, *Zilah Multan: Tareekh, Saqafat, Adab* (District Multan: History, Culture, Literature), (Lahore: Pakistan Punjabi Adbi Board, 2001), 144.

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and tried to develop pan-Islamic tendencies among the Muslims of India especially Amritsar. He further argued that Hindu-Muslim unity had considerable value around this time. In this meeting, a resolution was passed declaring that this session of the Khilafat Committee Amritsar wanted to realize the British Government that the religious powers of *Khalifat-ul-Muslameen* Sultan of Turkey were vested with his political powers. In saying this, we were implying that to divide the different parts of his country among the non-Muslim powers directly or indirectly would be interference in the subject of Khilafat. And it would be a serious blow and a constant source of disturbance in the Muslim world. We strongly protest against the establishment of separate independent states of Iraq, Arabia, Palestine and Syria which were prithe or to it under the control of the Sultan of Turkey.[775]

More important was, beyond this, that, Daud Ghaznavi appealed directly to the people of non-cooperation with the British. He made pan-Islamic movement intelligible to the Muslim of Punjab. Maulana Abdul Qadir Qasuri also participated in the activities of Khilafat Movement.[776] Through this, the *ulamā* used Islamic symbols to create a large following. It created consciousness among the Muslim that they belonged to the world-wide community. The cultural and educational movements, the schools and journals provided the organizational basis for the political activities.[777] The Khilafat Committee was about to divide because of the Bombay Muslim traders on the question of Muslim service in Indian Army. Abdul Bari, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar (1878-1931), Maulana Daud Ghaznavi and a number of Sindhi pirs made a decree that it was religiously illegitimate for the Muslims of India to join Indian army. The reason was that there was no surety that these troops would not be deployed against their Muslim brethren in the other parts of the world.[778]

Daud Ghaznavi participated in several Khilafat conferences held in different parts of the country. He led a delegation to Bombay Conference which was headed by

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[775] Roznama Paisa Akhbar, November 9, 1919.
[776] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Qasuri Khandan* (Mamukanjan, Faisalabad: Maktaba Tahleemat-i-Islamiya, 1994).
[777] Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 22.
[778] Asghar Ali Engineer, *They too Fought for the India's Freedom: The Role of Minorities* (Gurgaon: Hope India Publications, 2005), 76.

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conference but was reluctant to deliver a speech due to differences with Khilafat Committee on the issue of the arrival of Khilafat delegation to Europe. He was not in favour of sending such delegates. On requesting Daud Ghaznavi, Abul Kalam was ready to address this conference. He did not contribute to Madras Khilafat Conference as Abul Kalam was not partaking in this session. This showed that Daud Ghaznavi's political views were so coloured by his attachment with Abul Kalam Azad. He also joined Calcutta session which was chaired by Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) on December 4, 1920. In the same year, he attended Nagpur Conference in which the resolution of non-cooperation was passed. It was opposed by two persons; from Muslim side, Muhammad Ali Jinnah bitterly opposed this violent proposal of Gandhi (1869-1948) and Madan Mohan Malaviya (b-1861) from the Hindu circle.[779]

Another procession was held on 23 November 1920 in Golbagh Amritsar. Approximately five hundred students of different schools and colleges of Amritsar participated in this get-together. Doctor Satihah Pal, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, and Pandit Deena Nath were in this gathering. Abdul Rashid, a student of MAO High School read many resolutions which were passed by the support of Hindu students. Muhammad Umar, a student of ninth classs refused to accept government stipend.[780] Daud Ghaznavi was put behind the bars on the issue of Khilafat Movement.[781]

4.4.2 Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Ibn Saud (Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman)

The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had friendly relations with the Wahabis of Arabia on account of the avowed puritanical features of these two movements.[782] The doctrine of this movement was closer to Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahab (1703-1792) of Arabia. The doctrine he introduced was called Wahabism. The tenets of Wahabism formulated into a political movement in a short time and spread all over Arab. All-i-Saud accepted his ideology. Ottoman Empire was disintegrated as a result of World War I. Arab Nationalism spread by Lawrence of Arabia manipulated Arabs in the struggle against the Sultan of Turkey.

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[779] Fazal ur Rehman Sawati , "Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi ", 95-99.

[780] Ahmad Saeed, *Anjuman Islamia Amritsar*, 200.

[781] Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar in Sayed Abu Bakr Ghaznavi (ed), *Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi*, 58.

[782] W. Montgomery Watt, *What is Islam*, (London: Longman, 1979), 136.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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in 1920s. He captured Hijaz in 1925. Indian Muslims were divided into two factions on this issue. During those years Khilafat Committee remained in touch with Ibn Saud. The *ulamā* of India especially belonged to Deoband Movement and Khilafat Committee wished that Ibn Saud should rule on Arabia with the consent of the entire *ulamā* of the Islamic world. Their desire was that he would be a Khalifa (Caliph) in spite of becoming a king. According to the *ulamā,* the state would not be converted into hereditary. They further sought that he should not demolish the shrines and which had been destroyed must be re-built. In the beginning, Shah Abdul Aziz remained in touch with the Khilafat Committee. But as the time passed swiftly he refused to accept the proposals of the Khilafat Committee. Barelvi *ulamā* were against Ibn Saud's occupation of Hijaz.[783]

In Lahore, the peace was disturbed by the clashes between the supporters and the rivals of Shah Abdul Aziz. It created considerable anxiety during the latter part of the year 1925.[784] *Al-Faqih Amritsar* wrote against Shah Abdul Aziz whereas *Ahl-i-Hadith* Amritsar and *Tanzizm-i-Ahl-i-Hadith Punjab* wrote in favour of him.[785] *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were fanatical supporters of Ibn Saud. Ibn Saud invited the Muslim scholars from all the Muslim World in a session of Muhtamar Alam-i-Islami in Mecca in 1926. To participate in it, All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference was also invited. Sana Ullah Amritsari, Abdul Wahid Ghaznavi, Maulana Ismail Ghaznavi, and Hafiz Hameed Ullah reached Mecca to participate in the session.[786] Sana Ullah was directly invited by Sultan Abdul Aziz.[787] Maulana Sana Ullah Amritsari accepted the invitation and participated in first Muhtamar Alam-i-Islami held in Mecca in 1926.[788]

4.5 Role of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in other Political organizations 1931-47

Some leaders of *Ahl-i-Hadith* took part in other political parties. They remained at the forefront in the creation of Majlis-i-Ahrar. Some of them also joined Indian National Congress. Their role in these parties is discussed below.

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783 Abdul Qayyum Qadri, *Tareekh Nejd o Hijaz* (Lahore: Raza Publications, 1978), 412.
784 Punjab Administartion Report, 1925-26, 3.
785 Muhammad Abd'uh, *Tahreek-i-Ahl-i-Hadith,* 145.
786Abdul Qayyum, *Tareekh Nejd o Hijaz,* 272.
787 Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar, 27 January, 1933, 24.
788 Aftab Ahmad, *Karwan-i-Shaok*, 226-27.

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Chaudhry Afzal Haqq (1891-1942), Sayed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, Khawaja Abdul Rehman Ghazi and Maulana Habib ur Rehman were the founders of Majlis-i-Ahrar ul Islam on December 29, 1929, at Lahore.[789] Daud Ghaznavi was its first secretary general. Majlis-i-Ahrar was a conservative Muslim religious and political party. The founders of Majlis-i-Ahrar declared that their objectives were to guide the Muslim of India on the matters of nationalism and religion.[790]

During the whole year of 1931 Ahrar succeeded in attracting the support of the fanatic Muslims as well as the moderate urban Muslims who had influence in the legislative and in the executive. The whole year it remained the most prominent organization in Punjab. Ahrar propelled a full-fledged strike against the English Principal of Maclagan Engineering College Lahore as he had shown his biased attitude towards the Muslim students and staff. It succeeded in its ambition. This movement was a true representative of the cause of the Muslims.[791]

Majlis-i-Ahrar started a mass campaign to send troops in Kashmir at the end of 1931 for the assistance of the Kashmiri Muslims. The news of killing the Muslims in Kashmir by a Hindu Government reached Punjab in July 1931. The Ahrar put itself in the front of the campaigning against the Maharaja. After the celebration of Kashmir Day on the 14 August 1931, the agitation took a new turn. The volunteers were gathering in Sialkot to cross the border and starting civil disobedience in the valley. Until 2nd November 2376 volunteers were arrested by the Government of Punjab. At the end of November, the number of arrests reached 19000.[792] In this movement, some thirty to thirty-five thousand Ahrari volunteers willingly courted their arrest. It was the peak of this movement when it got utmost popularity throughout India and principally in Punjab.[793] This movement was different from the Khilafat Movement as it was without the help of Hindus. On the other side, its participants were only the Punjabis. As a result of mass Muslim mobilization in Punjab, Kashmir Committee was formed on 25 July 1931 to

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[789]Shorash Kaashmiri, *Sayed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari*, p. 98.
[790] Sayed N. Ahmad, *Origions of Muslim Consciousness in India: A World System Perspective* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), p. 175. For details also see Janbaz Mirza, *Karwan-i-Ahrar* 8 Vols. (Lahore: Maktaba Qaisariya, 1975), 2: 50-150.
[791] Punjab Administration Report, 1931-32, 7-9.
[792] Ibid.
[793] Urdu Encyclopedia, Ferozesons Limited, Lahore, 1984, 55.

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Iqbal, whose family had come from Kashmir, was also its General Secretary. This struggle resulted in the appointment of the Glancy Commission by the Government of India. On the recommendation of this commission, constitutional reforms were introduced and an elected legislative assembly was formed.[794]

With the passage of time, the Ahrar Party was losing momentum. During January 1932, this Kashmir Movement of Ahrar definitely weakened. Due to lack of the funds, Ahrar was in difficult financial position. They tried their best to agitate against the military operation in the North West Frontier during the months of August in 1933. Similarly, they also made an endeavour to arouse interest in the position of the Kashmiri Muslims.[795]

The history of Shaheed Ganj Mosque was a matter of some disputes between Sikhs and Muslims. The Mosque was built by Abdullah Khan (cook of Dara Shikoh). During the Sikh rule in Punjab, it was used as artillery center. Sher Singh an artillery officer capture the mosque.[796] In 1853 the Muslims engaged in a law suit for the restoration of this mosque. After the long trial, it was given to Sikhs. In 1929, Anjuman Islamia Punjab tried to gain the control of the mosque but in vain.[797] Gurdawara Act was passed in July 1925 to safeguard the holy places and properties of Sikhs religious institutions.[798] According to this act, the Sikhs appealed for the control of the mosque and its property. But the tribunal handed over the mosque to Gurdawara Parbandhak Committee. These steps aroused the Muslims against Sikhs. In those days a Muslim delegation led by Abdul Aziz Malwada, a prominent advocate belonged to *Ahl-i-Hadith* met Sir Herber William Emerson (remained governor of Punjab from April 12, 1933, to Feb 1934) the Governor of Punjab. The delegation offered many proposals to dissolve the issuethe . Firstly, they demanded that the Government took the mosque under her control. Secondly, the mosque handed to the department of Archaeology. Thirdly, the price of the land and its building might be given to the Sikhs.[799]

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[794] Chaudhry Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, 1973), 283. Also see Spencer, *The Ahmadiyya Movement*, 193.
[795] Punjab Administration Report, 1933-34, 2.
[796] Noor Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti* (Lahore: Al-Faisal Nashran, 2001), 791-92.
[797] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Abdul Aziz malwada* (Lahore: Nashriyat, 2006), 107.
[798] Punjab Administration Report, 1925-26, 3.
[799] Ibid., 108.

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Mazhar Ali Azhar took steps to reactivate the Ahrar as it was dormant since Civil Disobedience of Congress.[800] In this background, Majlis-i-Ahrar held its first conference in Habibiya Hall Lahore in July 1931. In this session, Separate Electorate for the Muslim was demanded. At this Hindu press showed utmost anxiety and stated the Majlis-i-Ahrar as a rebel. It was the time when Punjabi leaders of Ahrar felt serious dislocation from the association of it with Indian National Congress.[801]

Governor did not pay any attention to these proposals. Ultimately the mosque was destroyed during mid-night of July 7, 1935, by a group of Sikhs. [802] The Muslims regarded the incident of Shahid Ganj as a test case for the Majlis-i-Ahrar, as it was the only organized Muslim party. However, the leadership of Ahrar abstained from taking any radical steps. This thing disappointed the Muslim majority. At this, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi had separated from Ahrar.[803]

4.5.2 Indian National Congress

British Government in London decided in late 1927 to send a Statutory Commission under John Simon to review the Indian constitution. All the political parties in India protested against it. When this commission reached India in early 1928, it was welcomed with the slogan 'Go back, Simon". This commission reached Lahore Railway Station on 30 October 1928, a huge crowd with black flags entered from Delhi Gate to Landa Bazar. Both Hindu and Muthe slims were protesting against the Simon Commission. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Abdul Qadir Qasuri, Abdul Aziz Malwada, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, and Lala Lajpat Rai were among the prominent leaders. These participants were lathi-charged by the police.[804] Daud Ghaznavi also participated in this boycott and as a result of this non-cooperation, he was once again imprisoned.[805]

Congress adopted Nehru Report and demanded that if the government did not accept this report as it was by 31 December 1930, Congress would go in non-cooperation movement to attain full independence. When Congress started agitation

[800] K. K. Aziz, *Public Life in Muslim India* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1992), p. 133.
[801] Shorish Kaashmiri, *Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari*, 99.
[802] Ibid.
[803] Shorash Kaashmiri, *Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari*, 117.
[804] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti, *Abdul Aziz Malwada*, 105.
[805] Akhtar Rahi, *Ulamā-i-Punjab,* 1:181.

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Government of Punjab. Majlis-i-Ahrar was like a sub-group of Congress. The government of Punjab arrested all the top leadership of Congress and Ahrar. Daud Ghaznavi was also arrested during the Civil Disobedience Movement.[806] After the Karachi session of Indian National Congress, Afzal Haq resigned from the Punjab Congress and devoted his energies to reorganize Majlis-i-Ahrar.

Daud Ghaznavi also remained in the front line in Quit India Movement of Congress during 1942. He was arrested due to participating in this movement. It was the time when the Japanese were advancing towards the Indian border. Conversely, the World War II had its obvious effects on the economic and social life of the locals. In this background, Gandhi succeeded in bringing some portion of the Muslims.[807]

Daud Ghaznavi and Maulana Sana Ullah joined Indian National Congress because the British paid a little importance to Ahrar. According to them, the Congress had its clear and organized way of action and they joined it because they thought that Congress would liberate India from the foreign rule. Basically, they were impressed by Abul Kalam Azad and they only joined it on the advice of him.[808] Daud Ghaznavi was elected as a member of Punjab Assembly in 1946 on the party ticket of Congress. Maulana Abdul Qadir Qasuri remained president of Punjab Congress from 1920-1930, while Daud Ghaznavi worked for Congress for many years.[809] He himself described the reason that why he resigned from Congress. He argued that Congress had proved that it was a Hindu party, so any Muslim had no space in it. Nehru proved that Congress was only Hindu dominated the party.[810] Hindu press published several marginal comments regarding the resignation of Daud Ghaznavi. For instance, it was blamed that Congress itself wanted to throw him away as it was displeased with him. Daud Ghaznavi was being taunted that the Provincial Presidency of Congress was bestowed on him by Abul Kalam Azad and he never was a leader of the majority. Whenever any Muslim leader would leave Congress, he had to face such troubles by the Hindus. On these reactions of the Hindu press, *Nawa-i-Waqt* in its editorial had appealed to those Muslims members of the Punjab Provincial Assembly who were

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[806] Janbaz Mirza, *Karvan-i-Ahrar*, 95
[807] Ibid.
[808] Abu Bakr Ghaznavi (ed), *Hazrat Maulana Daud Ghaznavi*, 245-46.
[809] Ishaq Bhatti, *Qasuri Khandan,* 28.
[810] Nawa-i-Waqt, 18 July, 1946.

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long as Daud Ghaznavi stayed in Congress, he was being considered a great leader of Congress by the Hindus as well. But after his exit from the Congress, it was proclaimed that disciplinary action was expected against him. To escape such action he fled from Congress.[812]

Sana Ullah remained in the Congress for various years, attended many meetings and addressed huge congregations. He also criticized the policies of Congress which he thought would be against the Muslims. On the occasion when he was understood that Congress had been working for the welfare of the Hindus he separated himthe self from Congress and joined the Muslim League.[813]

4.6 ***Ahl-i-Hadith* and Pakistan Movement**

All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference remained static on the matter of support to All India Muslim League in the struggle for the creation of a separate homeland Pakistan. Why were the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* reluctant to support Pakistan? The answer is evident that it drew closer to Jamiat-ul-*Ulamā-i-Hind* that was staunch Nationalist.

However, we saw that some of *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* personally worked for the cause of All India Muslim League. Maulana Sana Ullah Amritsari was president of *Majlis-i-Istaqbalia* (reception committee) in the All India Muslim League session of 1919 which was held under the president-ship of Hakim Ajmal Khan in Amritsar. Mir Ibrahim was also present in this session. He participated in the annual session of Muslim League in 1930, in which Allama Iqbal proposed a separate state for the Muslims of the subcontinent. In March 1940, the League held its annual session at Lahore, in which the Lahore Resolution was passed. He also participated in this session.[814] Mir Ibrahim was closely attached to All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference. He presided its session in 1922 at Gujranwala. In Calcutta session of All India *Ahl-i-Hadith* in1946, Mir Ibrahim and Sana Ullah both proposed that *Ahl-i-Hadith* Conference should join with Muslim League for the struggle of Pakistan.[815]

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[811] Ibid.
[812] Ibid. *Daily Milap* and *Partab* wrote articles against Daud Ghaznavi who had joined Muslim League.
[813] Abdul Majeed, *Seerat Sanai* (Lahore: Naumani Kutabkhana, 1989), 374.
[814] Muhammad Aslam Saif, *Swaneh Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti*, 87.
[815] Ibid., 46-47.

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under the custody of the Hindu leadership and his president-ship of Congress was just for display. He had ignored to safeguard the rights of the Muslims and, hence, Muslims should leave him.[816] Mir Ibrahim wrote eleven essays in which he asked Muslims to join Muslim League.[817] Sana Ullah considered that Indian Nationalism was very dangerous for the survival of India Muslims. Therefore, he widely wrote in favour of the struggle for Pakistan in his newspaper the *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar*.[818] Hafiz Muhammad Gondalvi was another figure of *Ahl-i-Hadith* from District Gujranwala who supported the cause of Pakistan. He elected as president of Gujranwala Muslim League in 1944. He worked for the struggle of Pakistan and ushered a mass campaign to spread the message of Jinnah among the Muslims of his district. [819] On 16 July 1946, Daud Ghaznavi resigned from Congress and joined Muslim League on the motivation of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Jinnah was in the struggle of drawing those Muslims who were still out of the fold of the League.[820]

Conclusion

It has been viewed in this chapter that *Ahl-i-Hadith* can not be identified with only one kind of political attitude. After the collapse of *Jihad* Movement of Sayed Ahmad Shaheed (1831), the remanants of the movement adopted two ways. One of them continued their anti-British struggle for some decades whereas the other shunned this attitude and diverted their attention to revive the society through religious reforms and purification. They set up their own *madrasa*s and maktabs to disseminate their ideology.

Neither the *Ahl-i-Hadith* only adopted the singular nationalist Muslim politics nor did it show any anti-British attitudes. One thing is worth mentioning that they were also impressed by the radical faction of Deoband since the start of twentieth century. The coming years witnessed that their role differed as some of them participated in Khilafat Movement, Majlsi-i-Ahrar, Indian National Congress and Pakistan Movement. In certain matters such as in rise of Ibn Saud in Arabia, *Ahl-i-Hadith* in totality adopted the policy of favouring Ibn Saud in Arabia.

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[816] Nawa-i-Waqt, 23 August, 1945.Also see Habib Ahmad, *Tehreek-i-Pakistan aur Nationalist Ulamā* (Lahore: Al-Bayan, 1966), 671-72.
[817] Mir Ibrahim's essays were published in the shape of a book entitled *Paigham-i-Hidayat dar Taid-i-Muslim League.*
[818]Aftab Ahmad Qureshi, *Karwan-i-Shaok*, 220-22.
[819] Muhammad Yousaf Sajjad, *Tazkara-i-Ulamā-i-Ahl-i-Hadith* (Sialkot: Jamia Ibrahimiya, 1992), 258. Also see Shahid Faruq Nagi, *Hafiz Muhammad Gondalvi* (Lahore: Maktab-i-Quddusia, 2014), 193.
[820] Ibid., 475-505.

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CHAPTER-5
The Challenge of Ahl-i-Hadith to the Sufi Tradition in Punjab

This chapter explores the influences of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement on Shrine-centered Islam[821] in Punjab. In the previous chapter, I explore the political role of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab. By establishing their separate religious seminaries and mosques and also setting their printing presses in Punjab (as is shown in chapter two of this study), the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were able to challenge the Shrine-centered episteme of Punjab. They were busy in the disseminated of religious teaching what they perceived were the true picture of Islam. It also analyses different levels of penetration of *Ahl-i-Hadith* influence in urban and rural Punjab. The chapter consists of four sections. The section (5.1) describes an overview of the Sufi[822] tradition of Punjab on the eve of the the advent of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab.[823] This Sufi tradition of Punjab evolved through centuries and constitutes several elements of the local tradition. The present study traces the nature of Punjabi Sufism at the time of the establishment of *Ahl-i-Hadith* revivalist movement in Punjab. The Section (5.2) deals with the criticism of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, on the Sufi customs and rituals in Punjab. Next portion (5.3) analysis Challenges of *Ahl-i-Hadith* to the Sufi Tradition in Punjab, turning into a conflict between two approaches. These challenges were more evident in urban Punjab but also had certain influences in rural Punjab. The last portion (5.4) presents the impact of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement on the shift towards Scriptural Islam in Punjab.

5.1 Sufi Tradition in Punjab: An Overview

In the 1870s and 1880, Punjab was in a state of religious transition. Before the rise of revivalist movements in Punjab, the Sufis were found in almost every small and the big village of Punjab (even throughout India and other Muslim countries as well). Almost all the Muslims of Punjab considered it necessary to

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[821] The terms 'Shrine-Centered Islam' and 'Sufi Islam' both are used by me to denote the popular Sufi tradition of the Punjab.

[822] The word Sufi is originated from the Arabic term '*Suf*' which means 'woolen cloaks'. Sufism in its true spirit is love of God and His creatures.

[823] The religious life of the Punjabi Muslim revolved round the rural Mosque and the Shrine. Every village had its own mosque. Each Mosque had its Imam, who taught the village boys to repeat the Quran by rote and conduct the services at marriages and funerals. Greater reverence was given to the Saints. Some of them got much popularity on the basis of some miraculous power and because of this had a large following. It was usual for a pir (saint) to make visit to his followers, enjoying their hospitality and collecting their offerings. See Gazetteer of Jhelum District, 1904, 130-1.

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practice was common all over the province but was most prevalent in western Punjab. Pandit Harikrishan Kaul, the superintendent of Census Operations of Punjab stated that the *pir-i-muridi* practices were so common in the western Punjab that every single person was supposed to have a *pir,* who initiated him into the secrets of Divine worship.[824] K. D. Maclagan, Settlement Officer of Multan District observed in 1901-2 that those persons who remained without any association with *pir* were stigmatized as *be-pir* (without a *pir*). This was a sign of criticism on those people who remained without *pir*.[825]

In contrast to the concept that Sufism is one group, it is divided into many 'orders'; each differs from the other with certain features. Some of these Sufi orders are larger than the others and some have gone to rest with the passage of time. Famous among these Sufi orders were the Chishtiyya, Suhrwardiyya, Qadriyya and later on the Naqshbandiyya Orders.[826] The founders of these Sufi orders attached themselves with the Holy Prophet through Ali (the fourth pious Caliph of Islam, r-656-61) or Abu Bakr (the first Caliph of Islam, r-632-34), but mainly through Athe li. The later one attached to the Holy Prophet by Abu Bakr.[827] In addition to the above-mentioned orders, there were some Sufi orders, which were on a smaller scale such as Mujaddadiyya, Shattariyya, and Noshahiyya as well.[828] In addition to these, there were a small number of *majzūbs* (nonsense ascetic), *qalandars*[829] (wandering Muhammadan monks) and female Sufis, who contributed in the creation of a distinct composite culture in Punjab.[830]

Not looking into the details of these orders and their differences with each other's, I laid emphasis on the common features of this Sufi tradition of the early nineteenth century Punjab. One of the main characteristics of the Sufism of Punjab (and elsewhere in the world) since its establishment in Punjab was that each

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[824] Census of India, 1911, Punjab, 172.
[825] Gazetteer of Multan District, 1901-2. Also see Gazetteer of Multan District, 1923-4, 120.
[826] Tanvir Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi* 1190-1400 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 89-99.
[827] These three orders linked with Holy Prophet through Ali (r.a). Naqbshandiya Order linked with Holy Prophet through Abu Bakr. Naqshbandiyya Order opposed the main theme of Sufism, which was known as *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* ideology.
[828] Kanhaiya Lal, *Tareekh-i-Lahore* (Lahore: Book Stall, 2006), 43.
[829] They are wandering Muslim monks who abandon everything, wife, friends, and possession and travel about.
[830] S A A Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India,* 2 Vols, (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2004), 2:471-482.

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allowed several practices (*sam'a* dancing etc)[831] that were considered foreign to Islam by some Muslim scholars.[832]

The *Khānaqāhi Nizam[833]* (section 2.1of chapter two contains some of the features of *Khānaqāhi Nizam*) constituted another significant trait of this tradition, which provided a *langar* (free kitchen), accommodation, and *futuh* (gifts) to the poor and marginalized people of the community, thus this institution provided solace to their sufferings.[834] These *Khānaqāhs* were generally adjacent to the mosque or *dār-ul-'ulūm* (seminary), which also served as the centre for disseminating religious education. It also served as a place of composite outlook as the people from other religions also gathered there.[835] With the passage of time, these *Khānaqāhs* were transformed into *madrasas* (religious schools),[836] in which the *pir* assumed the role of a teacher. This teacher or *pir* used to take a verbal oath (*bai'at*) from his disciples.[837]

Another factor, which contributed towards the development and growth of the Sufi tradition, was the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*. According to this concept, God was the unity of all the plurality, reality and phenomenal appearances. This belief meant that one should not differentiate between the Creator and the creation; both the creation and the Creator are one entity.[838] Thus, the Sufis of Punjab adopted the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* and it became an integral part of the Sufi tradition of Punjab from the thirteenth century to the first half of the nineteenth century. By adopting the *Wahdat-ul-Wajud, the* ideology of Ibn Arabi, the saints of Chishtiyya and later on Qadriyya Orders tried to synthesize the Islamic Sufi tradition with Hindu Vedantic teachings.[839]

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[831] Pir Mehr Ali, *Malfuzat I Mehriya* (Lahore: Pakistan International Printers, 1986), 78.
[832] Qazi Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib* (Lahore: Vanguard Books Limited, 1977), 146.
[833] *Khānaqāh* denoted a hospice where Sufis accommodated their disciple for spiritual training. Also see David Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership and the Pakistan Movement in the Punjab" *Modern Asian Studies* 13 ,3, (1979): 490.
[834] Mubarak Ali, *Barr-e-Saghir Mein Musalman Moashray Ka Almiyya*, 85.
[835] Maksud Ahmad Khan, "*Khānaqāh*s: Centers of Learning" in Mansura Haider (ed), *Sufis, Sultans and Feudal Orders* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2004), 71-73.
[836] Ibid.
[837] Francis Robinson," "Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the impact of Print." *Modern Asian Studies* 27, 1, (Feb., 1993):238.
[838] Peter Hardy, *The Muslim of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1972), 27. Also see J. L. Mehta, *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India: Medieval Indian Society and Culture* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1983), 200.
[839] Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003), 17.

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from that of *ulamā* or Muslim theologians who accorded primacy to *sharī'at*.[840] This doctrine also allowed for the greater accommodation of the dissenting voices from other religions and sects within the path of Sufi thought.[841] This doctrine created peace and cooperation among the different religions. It rejected the concept that only one religion represents the truth and the other religions were incapable of reality.[842] Thus, it marked a considerable departure from religious theologians who espoused the more puritanical concept of God.[843] It made their message all-embracing and universal. More significantly, it fostered a tradition of co-existence in the social setting of the Punjab.

In contrast to them, the Naqshbandiyya Sufis presented ideology of *Wahdat-ul-Shuhūd* opposite to that of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*. The *ulamā* considered that this ideology was very close to the matters of *sharī'at*.[844] The adherents of revivalist and reformist movements followed the *Wahdat-ul-Shuhūd* ideology that seemed closer to *Sharī'at*. [845] It would be very interesting to mention that the founder of the *Shuhūdi* ideology Shaikh Ahmad could not completely reject the philosophy of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*. In his letter to Shaikh Abdul Aziz Jaunpuri, he praised Ibn Arabi (founder of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*) and declared that the philosophy of Ibn Arabi was the beginning of the Sufi contemplation. However, he had reached beyond the status of Ibn Arabi mystical position. Later on, the adherents of this order rejected the Wahdat-ul-Wajud ideology as a whole.[846] The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were strong opponents of the *Wajudi* ideology of Ibn Arabi.

Another feature of the Shrine-centered Islam was the total submission of the followers to the Sufi '*shaikh'* rema ofined the hallmark of the whole of Sufism. Sayed Athar Abbas Rizvi maintained that until the middle of the nineteenth century the *shaikh* was the natural guide of the people from whom the men from every section of the society sought guidance and worldly advice. His followers considered his *Shaikh* as the final 'authority' in the religious matters. The *Shaikh* gave each of his followers

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[840] Mehta, *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India*, 202.
[841] Ibid., 207.
[842] Qazi Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 339.
[843] Mukash Akbar, *Masail-i-Tasawaf* (Lahore: Book Home 2004), 67.
[844] Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani* (Lahore: Islami Kutabkhana, n.d), 24-25.
[845] Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, 2:467.
[846] Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani,* 20-28.

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contended that for the illiterate people of the Muslim community the position of the holy men and saints were not just the interpreters of Islam but 'they were Islam'.[848] Kenneth Jones contends that these Sufis got reputation during their lifetime and after their deaths, a *pir*'s tomb often became a place of visitation and worship.[849] It was a very common custom for the Muslims on Thursday evening to pay their respect to some neighboring shrine or to light lamps on the grave of any *faqīr* (pious).[850] People sought intercession from these Sufis in the time of their difficulties. Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani was considered as the most powerful Sufi in this regard irrespective of their Sufi orders.[851]

While traveling in Punjab, we can notice that almost all the villages contained some kind of tomb. The presence of scattered tombs and shrines of these Sufis provide some evidence of the socio-religious life of the villages. These Sufis developed the *Khānaqāhi Nizam,* particularly in the rural areas.

Muhammad Mujeeb (1902-85), an Indian scholar of Urdu literature has written in his book *Indian Muslims* that in the time of political disorder the Sufi *Khānaqāhs* provided order and meaning to the society.[852] Ahmad Abdullah in his book *Historical Background of Pakistan and Its People* contends that these *Khānaqāhs* were accessible to the common people and ultimately the Sufis freely intermingled with the local people without any distinction of religion and creed.[853] They provided free food (*langar*) and accommodation to the marginalized p witheople. They also provided them with financial assistance from their *futūh* (gifts).[854] Sufi Islam, therefore, in Punjab and Sind attracted a large number of the non-Muslims belonging to the lower stratum of the society. These Sufis led a very noble and virtuous life. They taught their followers that how to purify their *bātin*

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[847] Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* 1:458.
[848] Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas* (Chicago: 1969), 149.
[849] Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio Religious Reforms Movements in British India* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), 6.
[850] Gazetteer of Multan District, 1923-24, 121.
[851] Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 181-2.
[852] Muhammad Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims* (London: George Allen, 1967), 116-20.
[853] Ahmad Abdullah, *Historical Background of Pakistan and Its People* (Karachi: Tanzeem Publishers, 1973), 172-9.
[854] Qazi Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 325. Mubarak Ali, *Barr-e-Saghir Mein Musalman Moashray Ka Almiyya* , 85.

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attainment of eternal pleasure.[855] Through their untiring efforts, these Sufis and their *Khānaqāhs* became an institution, which provided solace and relief to the suffering humanity. In this manner, they became a role model for the people to follow them. Common people believed that these Sufis (alive or either dead) had supernatural powers.[856]

In the late nineteenth century, religious ceremonies were performed at the shrines throughout India and hence in Punjab. '*urs* were held on the graves of the Sufi saints mainly on the occasions of *majlis-i-milād* (the celebration of Prophet's birth anniversary) or annual death anniversaries of the saints. [857] These festivals were until then considered the central to the religious life of the Punjabi Muslims. Since the creation of Sufi Orders in the Punjab and especially the Chishtiyya Order at Pakpatan, these rituals made Islam accessible to the masses.[858] *Ta'wīz* (amulet) gave to the followers who saw in this *ta'wiz* a sense of protection against evils, a boom for good fate, and an agent for the cure of diseases. This character of the Shrines helped in collecting gifts from the followers. Such shrines possessed economic, social and political ties with the villagers as well. Shrine presented to the masses a divine manifestation and devotionalism. [859]

Pir-i-muridi practices were (and still in practice) constituent part of Shrine-centered Islamic tradition. The *pir* used to appoint *khalīfas* among their *murīds* or his own sons or other relatives, as a sign of acknowledging the services of any particular disciple. The purpose of this practice was to give their *khalīfas* the quality of a transmitter.[860] A similar kind of practice was *dastār bandī* (turban tying), which was particularly observed at the shrine of Baba Farid and its associated other shrines such as in Sial Sharif (Sargodha). *Dastar* (turban) was awarded to the newly appointed

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[855] Vali-ud-Din, *Cultural History of India*, in Mehta, *Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India*, 199.
[856] Saberwal, Satish. "On the Making of Muslims in India Historically," *Sociological Bulletin*" 55, 2, (May-August, 2006): 237-66.
[857] On the base of Census of 1881, the Deputy Commissioner of district Jhang had mentioned some fourteenth important fairs held on the shrines of Sufis in the district. See Gazetteer of Jhang District, 1883-84, 50-1. The Sajjada Nashins of many shrines paid periodical visit to their disciple's home. On those occasions, hundreds of the Muslims were seen flocking around their pir and paid homage to him.
[858] Richard M. Eaton, *Essays on Islam and Indian History* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 204.
[859] Ibid.
[860] David Gilmartin, "Religious Leadership," 491.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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chehlum) of the death of the saint.[861] In the *pir-i-muridi* practices, the appointment of *khalifas* was common with all Sufi hospices. To a certain extent, the master (*murshid*) defined the sphere of influence of his *khalifa*. This also signified the *baraka* (the territorial distribution of the spiritual power) of a particular disciple.[862]

Thus, in this manner, the spiritual description was widely disseminated through these *khalifas* and disciples. The *murids* of Baba Farid's shrine probably saw themselves less in terms of adherents of the Holy Book and more in terms of clients and sponsors of a theatre–Shrine that displayed the wondrous *baraka* of its saint through its pageantry, festivals, and ceremonies. For it was through its rituals that a shrine made Islam accessible to non-lettered masses, providing them with the vivid and concrete manifestation of the divine order and integrating them into its ritualized drama both as participants and as sponsors.[863] A disciple had to participate in a ceremony during which he made a solemn oath (*bai'at*)*,* swearing spiritual allegiance to *pir*, and his spiritual descendants.

It was the common practice in the Pre-Modern Punjab to seek veneration in several kinds (seeking *baraka, hanging ta'wiz* in their necks etc) to alive or dead *pirs*. Chishtiyya Sufi shrines fostered these practices, for instance, the shrine of Baba Farid at Ajudhan (Pakpatan) became the center of these traditions in the pre-modern Punjab. From here, this practice spread everywhere in the province and still it is practiced.[864]

A prominent feature of the Punjabi Sufism was singing of *qawwāli* and other mystical poetry. *Qawwāli* (*sam'a*) remained an integral part of the shrine festivals of Chishtiyya Sufis throughout its history. (This practice is still in progress and is not confined at the shrines only).[865]

In the absence of written tradition, the mystical poetry carried through oral tradition helped in disseminating Sufi ideas to the common people. The poetry of Baba Farid, Shah Hussain (1539-93), Sultan Bahu (1628-91), Waris Shah (1706-1798) and Bulleh Shah (1680-1758) influenced the minds of people in Punjab. All

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[861] Eaton, *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, 239-4.
[862] Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 346.
[863] Eaton, *Essays on Islam*, 204.
[864] Qazi Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 333.
[865] Ibid., 146-92.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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people. The main themes in their poetry were the respect for *murshid*, humility, love for humanity and tolerance.[866]

With the annexation of Punjab by the British, the colonial power established political links with the sajjada nashins of several important shrines in Punjab by granting them a reasonable land property especially in the canal colonies. In this way, several sajjada nashin came under the influence of the colonial state.[867]

The above-mentioned features and many others of the Punjabi Sufism came under the strong criticism of the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. They challenged the prevailing Shrine-centered Islam and established their own mosques and *madrasas* in different parts of Punjab. They were in the process of bringing the converts towards them. In this way, they exerted influence on the population of Punjab as a whole. They laid their basthe is on the literal meanings of the Quran and Hadith. The other revivalist and reform movements of the time like Deoband and Tablighi Jamā'at also played some role in the formation of skepticism among the masses. As these movements did not condemn the Sufism as a whole.

5.2 *Ahl-i-Hadith* Critique of Shrine-Centered Islam

In the above section, I mentioned some important prevailing features of Shrine-centered Islam, which wethe re challenged by the *ulamā* of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement. With the advent of the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab, the Sufi tradition of Punjab came under their extreme criticism. The practices, which *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* declared as unlawful in Islam, were common in Punjab. A brief description of the critique of *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* is given below.

The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* declared the beliefs of the Sufis and common Sunni Muslims regarding the qualities of the Holy Prophet such as *īlm-i-ghaib* and *istimadād* as un-Islamic. Based on the teachings of Shah Ismail Shaheed and Sayed Ahmad Barelvi, the originators of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement Maulana Nazir Hussain and Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan condemned the prevalent ideas regarding

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866 Qazi Javed, *Hindi-Muslim Tehzib*, 326.
867 David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: I. B. Tauris$ Co Ltd, 1988), 47-52. Also See Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 106.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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characteristics to the Holy Prophet.[868] The writings of the prominent scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith* conveyed this message while calling the Muslims to reform their beliefs in accthe ordance with the teachings of the Quran and Hadith. They denounced the views of the Barelvi and Sufis regarding the metaphysical powers of the Holy Prophet. In presenting their denouncement of the certain qualities of the Prophet and Shrine-centered Islam, I prefer to refer the principal *fatawā*[869] (judgment) books of the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. I also take into account the *malfūzāt*[870] (plural of *malfūz*; sayings) of some influential contemporary Sufis as well.

In 1898, Nazir Hussain wrote a series of his *fatawā* known as *Fatawā -i-Naziriyya* in response to the several questions about the status of the Prophet and others debatable questions. He wrote that it was wrong to believe that *Rūh-i-Muhammad* (the soul of the Prophet) remained present everywhere (omnipresent). He quoted a *Hadith* in favour of his own conception of this belief. He said that some angels who visited the whole earth sent the *Durūd* (blessings) of the Muslims to the grave of Muhammad (PBUH). He narrated the *hadith* that "a group of the angels in the earth continue their visit and collect the *Durūd* (blessings) of the Muslims to convey me (Holy Prophet)" (hadith from Sunan Nisai, Darmi, and Mishkat). By utilizing this *hadith* he criticized the belief of the Sufis that Prophet was omnipresent and knows everything happening in this world. He called the people having such ideas as *musharrak* (polytheist; one who make a co-partner in the Oneness of God).[871]

There was resentment among the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* about Shrine-centered Islam.[872] The most prominent feature of this Sufi tradition was that it thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* (See 5. 1 of this chapter). Not only this ideology but also its founder Ibn Arabi came under the severe attacks of the *ulamā* of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* was an admirer of Imam Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) and his philosophy. They shared Ibn Taymiyya's

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[868] Martin Riexinger, "How Favourable is Puritan Islam to Modernity? A Study of Ahl-I Hadith in Late Nineteenth/Earl Twentieth Century South Asia" in Gwilym Beckerlegge (ed.), *Colonialism, Modernity and Religious Identities: Religious Reform Movements in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 149.
[869] A notification of the decision of Muhammadan law in or respecting a particular case; judgement.
[870] Sayings or utterances or annals of a saint or a spiritual guid.
[871] Sayed Nazir Hussain, *Fatawā -i-Naziriyya* (Lahore: Ahl-i-Hadith Academy, 1971), 6-7.
[872] Rajmohan Gandhi, *Punjab: A History From Aurangzeb to Mountbatten* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2013), 30.

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and shrines.[874] On the footsteps of Imam Ibn Taymiyya, the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* challenged the ideology of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*. On the other side, they accepted the *Suhūdi* ideas of Shaikh Ahmad (Mujadid Alf Sani). In addition to this, the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had certain similarities with Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab (the founder of Wahabism in Arabia) in the matter of condemnation of Sufism (as is already mentioned in the statement of the study). Their challenges to Sufism based on the teachings of these two personalities. The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* denounced all the features of *Wajudi* ideology. They termed the followers of Ibn Arabi as polytheist.[875]

The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* rejected all kind of saintly intercession. It is necessary to examine the *Ahl-i-Hadith*'s opposition to the Shrine-centered practices in order to understand what they meant by Quran and *Sunnah* and the way in which they wanted to apply in the Muslim society. In a broader sense, their hostility towards shrines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century stemmed from the argument that all powers vested in God. Moreover, to believe them in anyone else would be *Shirāk*. Sayed Nazir Hussain while writing several *fatawā* against the practices prevailing at the shrines declared them either kufr (infidelity) or bid'at. According to him, it would be clearly *Shirāk* to call *ya*[876] *shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani shai'un lillah* and *ya Khawaja Sulamān* (O, Kawaja Sulamān). Sayed Nazir and his co-religionists declared it as *shirāk* because they claimed that the person who used these words was making a partnership with God. They said that all the Muslims should seek intercession directly from God because only God is omnipresent and not the saints or prophets.[877]

Sana Ullah Amritsari in his journal *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar* published a couplet, which broadly showed that the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* considered these practices as *shirāk* (polytheism). He wrote;

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873 It was a movement in the early history of Islam to try to apply Greek philosophy to Islamic theology.
874 Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmad (ed), *Ibn Tayamiyya and His Times* (London: Oxford University Press, 2010), 304-5.
875 Sana Ullah Amritsari, *Fatawā -i-Sanaya* 2 Vols (Lahore: Maktaba Ashab-ul-Hadith, 2010), 1: 148-49. Also See Muhammad Aslam Saif, *Tehreek-i-Ahl-i-Hadith: Tareekh kay Ainay Mein* (Lahore: Maktaba Quddusia, 2005), 109-126.
876 The word '*ya'* was used ask intercession from the holy Prophet or any saint. It was questioned by the *ulamā* of Ahl-i-Hadith that the word 'ya' should be called with the name of God.
877 Nazir Hussain, *Fatawā -i-Naziriyya,* 53-4.

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Wahan ja kay phir phool shaker charhana,

Kisi qabr par ja ka bakra katana

Nahi *shirāk* yeh kia? Mian sach batao[878]

Travel towards shrines for the fulfillment of the vows,

By reaching there, offer flowers and sugar,

On some graves, offer the sacrifice of a goat,

Is not it *shirāk*? Tell the truth.

Once in the year 1933, after attending an *Ahl-i-Hadith* gathering at Multan Sana Ullah Amritsari, Muhammad Hayat Qasuri and several other scholars of *Ahl-i-Hadith* went on a preaching tour to Dera Ghazi Khan. They departed from Multan on the 20 March 1933. On their way to Dera Ghazi Khan, they saw the visitors in several groups going to the shrine of Hazrat Sakhi Sarwar (12th-century Sufi saint), situated in a town Sakhi Sarwar (Dera Ghazi Khan). The people raised the flags on their lances and uttering the name of Sakhi Sarwar as *Lakh Data* (the giver of Lakh). They were dancing on the beatings of the drums. They also watched the people visiting the shrine of Baha-ud-Din in Multan and Baba Farid at Pakpatan. Sana Ullah wrote in his *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar* several articles to criticize these practices [879]

Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* condemned *tasawwur-i-shaikh* (imagination of *pir*) and never acknowledged the other *pir-i-muridi* practices.[880] Sana Ullah Amritsari in his *Fatawā -i-Sanaya* strongly rejected the prevalent method of counteracting the evil influences with the help of *pir's* charms or amulets. This was a common practice that people wear a *ta'wiz* (charm) written by a *pir*. This was to wear around the neck or on the upper right arm.[881] These were common all over Punjab but were widespread in Western Punjab especially in rural areas.[882] He denounced the intermediary role of the saints and Sufis in curving the fever, dropsy, barrenness, snake-biting and cattle diseases with the help of these charms. He declared that everyone should ask God for

[878] *Ahl-i-Hadith Amristar*, November 8, 1935.
[879] *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar*, March 31, 1933.
[880] Sana Ullah, *Fatawā -i-Sanaya,*1:146.
[881] Gazetteer of the Shahpur District, 1897, 88.
[882] Census of India, 1911, Vol. XIV, Punjab, Part I, 172.

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This tradition was not easily or quickly to be shed even under the influences of the revivalist movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith* as well as the other movements of revivalism. It was also influenced by the advent of western modernity.

Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* frequently issued *fatawā* in which they strongly accused that asking intercession from any person other than God was infidelity. They maintained through the references of several verses and Hadith that those who verbally ask prophets or saints who are dead or far away for intercession become polytheists.[884]

The above discussion makes it clear that the whole *Khānaqāhi* system came under the activism of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. By examining the literature of *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* especially their *fatawā* (*Fatawā -i-Naziriyya* and *Fatawā -i-Sanaya*), it is concluded that they vigorously opposed the entire culture of Sufism. They desired that Islam would be free from the outsider elements that entered in Islam during the medieval period. The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* discouraged the institutional forms of Sufism by rejected*ʿurs* and *qawwāli* as well as *gyārahwin* of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani. They rejected all the ritual pilgrimage to the graves of the saints and even to the Holy Prophet.

5.3 ***Ahl-i-Hadith* Challenges to the Sufi Tradition in the Urban and Rural Punjab**

This section discusses the transition, which took place within the Shrine-centered Islam in Punjab because of their antagonism with the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. During the period under discussion, there was Sufi revivalism in Central Aisa, Egypt and other parts of the world. In Punjab, which was the hub of several Sufi orders and practices, there was Chishtiyya revivalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.[885] However, the advent of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab in the second half of the nineteenth century made the Sufis conscious of the future of the Sufism in Punjab. It is very

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[883] Sana Ullah, *Fatawā -i-Sanaya,*1:337.
[884] Interview with Ahmad Shakar, an Ahl-i-Hadith *alim* (scholar) on July 14, 2011.
[885] Chishtiyya revival in the Punjab started with Nur Muhammad Muharvi (1730-1790). Khawaja Shah Sulamān Taunsavi and Shams-ud-Din Sialvi contributed a lot in the dissemination of this new version of revitalized Chishtiyya silsila .

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centuries to evolve, came under the strong challenges of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement. As a result of this contestation, *Ahl-i-Hadith ulamā* were able to establish their centers in Punjab (specifically in urban Punjab). *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* directly opposed this version of Islam at length. They declared these Sufi customs against the basic teachings of Islam.

The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were not the first who opposed Ibn Arabi's ideology. Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qayyum and later on Ibn Abdul Wahab had opposed strongly this ideology. They made full use of modern techniques to disseminate t asheir ideas such as print media as well as the translation and publication of the original texts. The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* was the harbinger of this new religious thought. They introduced the Indian Muslims with the publication of the original books and their translations written by Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyum. Secondly, the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* wrote books and published articles in newspapers to refute the ideas of Ibn Arabi.[886] In their publications and Friday speech, they supported the *Shuhūdi* ideas that propounded by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.

Amritsar developed as the main center for the growth of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab since the late nineteenth century. The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* focused on the original texts of the Quran and the Hadith. They began to curse Ibn Arabi and strongly insulted those who believed in his doctrine as they showed his ideology opposite to the teachings of Quran and Hadith. They delivered speeches and published pamphlets to disrespect Ibn Arabi and his ideology.[887]

To counter the activities of the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, the representatives of the Shrine-centered Islam such as Khawaja Shams-ud-Din Sialvi (1799-1883), Pir Jama'at Ali Shah Alipuri and Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi came forward. Khawaja Shams-ud-Din Sialvi, the founder of Chishtiyya branch in the old district of Shahpur (presently located in Sargodha District), warned his disciples against the onslaught of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab. His disciple Sayed Muhammad Saeed[888]

[886] Mehr Ali Golrvi, *Maktubat-i-Tayyabat* (Lahore: Printers Professionals, 1998), 101.
[887] Muhammad Abdullah Khanpuri, *Tazkara Ulamā-i-Khanpu*r (Lahore: Maktaba Salafiya, 1985), 138.
[888] Muhammad Saeed was son of Haider Shah Zanjani. He remained under the patronage of Khawaja Shams-ud-Din Sialvi for several years. He collected those sermons which were delivered during his presence.

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criticism of *Ahl-i-Hadith* ideas regarding the prevailing Shrine-centered Islam. He instructed his followers about the principles of Islamic Sufism and taught his followers that Ibn Arabi's ideology of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* was not un-Islamic as declared by the reformers of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement. Muhammad Saeed stated that on several occasions Shams-ud-Din Sialvi explained the *Wajudi* ideology of Ibn Arabi. For the proof of his statement, he referred to Maulana Rumi's Masnavi during his sermons. He warned about the activities of *Ahl-i-Hadith ulamā* in the context of their anti-Sufi stance and their denouncing of Ibn Arabi. [889]

Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi (1859-1937) was one of the four famous *khalifs* of Shams-ud-Din Sialvi.[890] He got popularity in the dissemination of *Sharī'at* based Sufism. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* especially in Amritsar started a campaign against the Wajudi ideology of Ibn Arabi. Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi was the main initiator of this criticism of Wajudi ideas of Ibn Arabi. In this backdrop, Pir Mehr Ali Shah published a poster in which he proposed that he could prove publically the ideas of Ibn Arabi. For this purpose, he was ready to reach Amritsar and in the presence of *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, he would do this. He asked that he was willing to substantiate those writings of Ibn Arabi's *Fatuhat-ul-Makiyya* (Victories of Mecca) and *Fususul-Hikm* (Pearls of Wisdom). These books were strongly opposed by the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. He claimed that if he failed in proving the rightness of the ideas of Ibn Arabi and his theory of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud*, he would pay a sum of two thousand rupees in compensation to Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi and his follower *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. If he succeeded in convincing the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and other participants of this session, then he had right to take an undertaking that in future the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* had no right to declare Ibn Arabi and his followers as infidels. The copy of this announcement published in *Fatuhat-ul-Samaddiya* written by Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi in 1913.[891]

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[889] Sayed Muhammad Saeed, Mirat-ul-Ashiqeen (Lahore: Seerut Foundation, 2006), 274-86

[890] Although his *khalifas* number reached fifty-nine yet four among them got much popularity. They were Ghulam Haider Ali Shah Jalalpuri in Disrtict Jhelum (1837-1908), Khawaja Muazam-ud-Din Marulianwala (1832-1907,new name of the town Marulianwala is Muazamabad Sharif situated in district Sargodha), Fazal-ud-Din Chacharvi (1828-1881) and Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi.

[891] Mehr Ali Shah, *Fatuhat ul Samaddiya* (Rawalpindi: Frontier Exchange Press, 1967), 3-14.

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country) until the arrival of *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement in Punjab. The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* from Amritsar, Ferozepur fearlessly reached the shrines of the Sufi saints and emphatically challenged the practices conducted at these shrines especially in Pakpatan and Qasur. They enthusiastically wanted religious purification under the patronage of their masters. They taunted the followers of the saints that they indulged themselves in grave worship. While refuting these practices they recited the verses of the Holy Quran, which declared that those who worship of anything besides God were polytheists. They also quoted Hadith and made the interpretation of these Hadith. By this, they declared the prevailing practices at the shrines of Sufis were un-Islamic.[892] For instance, during the *urs* ceremony of Baba Farid in Pakpatan, the *Ahl-i-Hadith ulamā* of Qasur, Amritsar, Ferozpur, and Bahawalpur reached there. The reason was that the area was under the strong influence of the *Ahl-i-Hadith ulamā* (the table that shows the population of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in different districts in section 2.3.2). They reached there in groups and started preaching against these practices. They attracted the common people towards them by reciting the verses of the Holy Quran and the Hadith. They opposed all kind of ceremonial practices at the tomb. They preached that God and the Prophet Muhammad forbade these things. They further declared that it was a kind of polytheism. The dead could not do any work. The dead could not get what they need or redeem themselves from harm. It was wrong to ask a dead person for his intercession with God. They termed those who said that souls of the Saints were present as disbelievers.[893] They declared that it was *shirāk* to travel to these tombs for any kind of solace. They termed the Sufis as ignorant and knew nothing about the true teachings of Islam.

They also challenged the *bihishti darwaza* and asked the people that how could a man obtain paradise by only passing through it.[894] The shrine of Baba Farid has its *bihisti darwaza* (a door of paradise). Those who passed through it during the visitation of the shrine considered themselves safe from the hell.[895] Both the Hindus and the Muslims came to visit the shrine. The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* strongly denounced this practice of visitation at the shrine of Baba Farid.

[892] Faiz Ahmd, *Mehr-i-Munir,* (Lahore: Pakistan International Printers, 1973), 259. Also See Sana Ullah, *Fatawā -i-Sanaya.*
[893] Ibid., 430-31.
[894] Faiz Ahmad, *Mehr-i-Munir*, 430-31.
[895] Ibid., 242.

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Sialvi (1837-1909, son of Khawaja Shahs-ud-Din) asked Mehr Ali Shah to participate every year in the *'urs* ceremonies of Baba Farid. From time to time, the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* debated with Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi on the issues of *tauhīd* (believing in the Oneness of God), *shirāk*, *bid'at*, visitation of graves, passing through the *bihishti darwaza*, *pir-i-muridi* practices and *nazr-o-niyaz* (vow and supplication). Once an *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar Ghulam Qadir of Minchanabad[896]asked him about the same question of passing through the door of paradise at the Shrine of Baba Farid. He questioned that how the man who after passing from the specific door would enter in paradise. Mehr Ali Shah replied that according to the interpretation of a Hadith, the grave of a pious man became the part of the paradise. Ghulam Qadir further objected that why the visitors spoke the word Farid, Farid aloud during the passing through the *Bahishti Darwaza*. Instead, they should call Allah, Allah. Mehr Ali Shah replied that the complete slogan of the visitors was Allah, Muhammad, *Char Yār*[897], Haji,[898] Qutab,[899] Farid and the word Farid was being called repeatedly. After this, the discussion shifted towards the issue of taking the oath of allegiance and becoming the disciple of a saint. Ghulam Qadir asked that he had taken oath on the Prophet' hands and every Muslim had the same belief. Therefore, there was no need of taking oath on the hands of the *pirs*.[900]

Maulana Sana Ullah criticized the Shrine-centered Islam and Sufis of Punjab. He, while writing in *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar* started challenging Pir *Jamā'at* Ali Shah Muhaddis[901] Alipuri (1850-1951) as well as the other Sufis of the time in many ways. Pir Jama'at Ali Shah was initiated in Naqshbandiyya Order. He was an influential defender of the Sufi Islam in Punjab against the activities of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. He established an *anjuman* named '*Anjuman Khuddām-ul-Sūfīya*' (organization of the servants of Sufis) in 1904 at Lahore. The first meeting of this *Anjuman* was held in Badshahi Mosque Lahore. From the year 1907, the annual session of the *Anjuman* held at Alipur (District Sialkot). Soon the *Anjuman* opened its branches in many big

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[896] Ahl-i-Hadith scholar belonged to Minchanabad (district Bahawalnagar).
[897] Four pious caliphs of Islam named Abu Bakr, Umar Faruq, Usman and Ali respectively.
[898] Here the word 'Haji' means Sharif Zandani the disciple and Khalifa of Maudud Chishti.
[899] Qutb means Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiar Kaki the successor of Moin-ud-Din Ajmeri (the founder of Chishtiyya Order in India)
[900] Faiz Ahmd, *Mehr-i-Munir,* 430-31.
[901] Muhadith is the title bestowed to a person who learned the knowledge of Hadith literature.

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to todefend Islam and Sufism and to respond the attacks of the other religious communities.[903] It started publishing its own monthly journal *Anwār-ul- Sūfīya* in1904.

Sana Ullah objected to the religious learning of Jamā'at Ali Shah. According to Sana Ullah, the latter was neither a scholar nor a Sufi or a *faqih* (Muslim Jurist). He did not know anything about the principles of *sharī'at*.[904] This contestation led towards harsh enmity between the Sunni (the custodian of the Sufi Islam) and the *Ahl-i-Hadith*. The editors of *Al-faqih* and *Siasat* published the *sanads* (certificates) of Pir Jama'at Ali Shah. Abdul Aziz, a disciple of Pir Jama'at Ali Shah affirmed that Jama'at Ali Shah studied Hadith and other branches of scholarship from Maulana Abdullah Tonki, Maulana Arshad Hussain, and Maulana Shah Ganj Muradabadi. He also demanded that the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* should publish their own certificates. Maulana Sana Ullah wrote in his newspaper *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar* that Abdul Aziz came with the documents of Jama'at Ali Shah to Imam of Hanafia Masjid Amritsar, Maulana Muhammad Hasan. He showed his documents to Muhammad Hasan who said that the certificates (*Asnad*) were original.[905]

This situation, however, underwent change and by the challenges of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, the Sufi of British Punjab tried to interpret *Wajudi* ideas in such a way that it came very close to the *Shuhūdi* ideas. The differences between *Wajudi* and *Shuhūdi* ideologies seemed to be minimized. Pir Mehr Ali Shah wrote a book entitled *Tahqīq-ul-Haqq* (Research for the Truth) for this purpose. Primarily, it was a response to *Kalamat-ul-Haqq* (Word of Truth) written by Shah Abdul Rehman Lucknowi, a staunch follower of Ibn Arabi and sajjada nashin of Fakhur-ud-Din Delhvi. In his book, Shah Abdul Rehman argued that it would be binding on all the Muslim to follow the ideology of Ibn Arabi. Pir Mehr Ali debated this notion and concluded that the *Wajudi* ideas were only the concerns of the most particular Sufis and not relating to common people. He tried to synthesize these two opposite ideologies. He explained

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[902] It started its branches in Gujrat, Sialkot, Kunjah (district Gujrat), Rawalpindi, Jhang, Qasur, Layalpur (Faisalabad), Multan, Amritsar and Jalundhar.

[903] Akhtar Hussain, *Serat-i-Ameer-i-Millat* (Lahore: Ameer-i-Millat Publications, 2008), 511. Also See Abdul Hakeem, *Tazkara-i-Aka'abar-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat* (Lahore:Noori Kutab Khana, 2005), 113-117.

[904] Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar, November 29, 1935.

[905] Ibid., October 20, 1933.

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differences of them remained of no importance.[906]

Another objection raised by the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* was the practice of prostration at the graves of the Saints. They declared these practices as *shirāk*. Ahmad Raza Khan Barelvi wrote a book to refute those who were in favor of the act of bowing down before the graves or any other living personality.[907] Someone asked Mehr Ali Shah about the legitimacy of prostration before the *murshid.* He strongly condemned the bowing before the alive or dead saint in his book *Fatawā-i-Mehria*.[908] In this way, the viewpoint of the *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith*, Barelvi and of the Sufis regarding the prostration at the graves was the same.

By the twentieth century, the pirs and the *ulamā* of the Barelvi Movement who supported these Sufis both turned toward the scriptural scholarship of Quran and Hadith. By adopting the modern tools of dissemination, the *pirs* thought it better to transform their *Khānaqāhs* into religious schools. To meet the challenges of the reformist *ulamā* they appointed well-known *ulamā* for the study of the Holy Quran and the Hadith. In addition to this, they prepared *ulamā* to counter, the attacks of their opponents. In addition to this, some Sufis also helped in the publication of books and journals. Khawaja Muhammad Zia-ud-Din Sialvi (1887-1929), grandson of Shams-ud-Din Sialvi requested Maulana Ahmad-ud-Din Gongvi (1843-1968), a famous and experienced religious scholar for the job of *muftī* at Sial Sharif. He performed this duty for several years.[909] On the other hand, the rituals at the shrine of Sial Sharif were performed with certain changes. For instance, the *qawwāli* was performed without instruments.[910]

Polemical debates carried on since the late nineteenth century onwards. These consisted of both written and face-to-face. Sana Ullah wrote *Sham'a Tauhīd* and *Noor-i- Tauhīd* to refute the Barelvi and Sufi beliefs of *īlmi-i-ghaib*, *istimadād-i-auliyā,* and several other issues.[911] Muhammad Sharif Kotlvi (d-1951) wrote several

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906 Mehr Ali Golrvi, *Tahqiq-ul-Haqq* (Lahore: Pakistan International Printers, 1997).
907 Abdul Haiy, *Nuzat-ul-Khawater* , 8: 40.
908 Mehr Ali, *Malfuzat-i-Mehria*, 70. Also see Mehr Ali Golrvi, *Fatawā -i-Mehria* (Lahore: Pakistan International Printers, 1988), 52.
909 Abdul Hakim, *Tazkara-i-Aka'abar-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat* (Greatest Men of Ahl-i-Sunnat), 47-8.
910 Mureed Ahmad, *Fauz-ul-Maqal fi Khulafa-i-Pir Sial* (Lahore: Edara Tahleemat Aslaf, 1997), 41.
911 Abdul Majid, *Seerat-i-Sanai,* 275-6.

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these were *Tasawwur-i-Shaikh* (Imagining the Sufi), *Sadaqat-ul-Ahnaf* (Truthfulness of Hanafi), *Wahabiyya se Manakhat* (Marriage with Wahabis) *and Taid-ul-Imam* (Supporting the Imam).[912] There were some other debatable issues.

The debate entered into a new phase when Mehr Ali Shah issued a *fatwā* in which he allowed the inhabitants of the plague areas to leave the place for the medical treatment. The *Ahl-i-Hadith* issued a *fatwā* which declared that no one could enter the area under the plague disease and nor the inhabitants of the infected area left their homes. They stressed on the literal meaning of the Hadith which prohibited the entrance and exclusion from the plague area. Qazi Abdul Ahad Khanpuri (1852-1928) an *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar stayed at Rawalpindi and Mehr Ali Shah Golrvi indulged in a debate on the issue of the going away from the place of plague in the year 1911/12. This contestation led towards hostility between the two groups.

Qazi Abdul Ahad wrote a pamphlet named '*Ashra-i-Kāmilat* (Complete Ten) consisted of thirty-six pages. In this, he sent ten complicated questions to Mehr Ali Shah and asked that if he made the answers to these questions then he had right to ask certain questions in response. Mehr Ali published *Futūhāt-ul-Samadiya* in which he gave detailed answers to the questions raised by Qazi Abdul Ahad. He after answering the questions of Abdul Ahad put pen to paper twelve questions in response. This led to a continuous war of pamphlets between these two groups. Abdul Ahad wrote some twenty pamphlets in which he criticized Pir Mehr Ali and Pir Jama'at Ali Shah.[913]

All the above discussion demonstrated that *Ahl-i-Hadith* movement had brought the centuries old *pir-i-muridi* practices under question. Until the close of the nineteenth century, popular beliefs associated with shrines were common. Deoband and *Ahl-i-Hadith* both stood for the purification of the religion. Which of them brought profound effects in the puritan shift in Punjab? The adherents of Deoband Movement were also challenging Shrine-centered practices but the influences of *Ahl-i-Hadith* on Shrine-centered Islam were more than that of Deoband movement. The

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[912]Abdul Hakim, *Akabar Ahl-i-Sunnat*, 484-5.

[913] Mehr Ali Shah, *Fatuhat-ul-Samaddiya*, Also see Muhammad Abdullah, *Tazkara Ulamā-i-Khanpur*, 137-140. About this doctrinal contestation, Sana Ullah regretted and said that my brother Abdul Ahad had used uncompromising attitude towards Pir Mehr Ali Shah. See Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar, February 14, 1913.

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They made no deliberate effort to expunge Sufism. Instead of this, they remained associated with the Chishtiyya Sabariyya[914] branch of Sufis through Haji Imdad Ullah Maki (d-1899).[915] *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement totally discarded Sufism. The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* attacked the customs associated with shrines declaring them as *shirāk* or polytheism as well as wastage of time and money.[916]

Another factor, which helped in this religious transition towards puritan Islam was the receptiveness of the Punjabi mind and its inclination towards acceptability of religious movements fostering outside its territory. Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938) had pointed out toward this aspect in his poem named Punjabi Musalman (Punjabi Muslim). He said:

> If he stays somewhere, he passes swiftly.
> He never wants to participate in the game of research,
> He can easily be indulged in the act of following,
> If there is any sort of elucidation,
> He can very easily be trapped.[917]

Since the late nineteenth century, Punjab became the center of religious activities. Among the Muslim sects (Deobandi, Barelvi, *Ahl-i-Hadith*), the differences reached the point of no compromise. Ghulam Qadir Bheravi *Khatib* of Begum Shahi Mosque Lahore ordered that *Wahabi*, *Rāfaẕi* (Shia), *Naturi*, *Mirzai* (Ahmadis) cannot enter into his mosque for the purpose of preaching. Ghulam Qadir wanted to check the the activities of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and Deobandi in Lahore. This indicated that the influence was severely penetrating into the minds of the common people. The following table shows the numerical strength of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab.

Table 5.1: Numerical Strength of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Sect in Punjab

Years	1881	1891	1911	1921	1931
Population	2,453	3,604	39,083	60,327	182,544

Source: Census Reports of 1881, 1891, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

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[914] Chishtiyya Order was split into Chishtiyya Nizamiyya (Nizam-ud-Din Auliya) and Chishtiyya Sabariyya (Ali Ahmad Sabar Kaleeri). Both Nizam-ud-Din Auliya and Ali Ahmad Sabar Kaleeri were the *khalifa* of Baba Farid.

[915] Sayed Muhammad Akbar, *Tazkira-i-Auliya-i-Deoband* (Lahore: Maktaba-i-Rehmania, 2000).

[917] Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *Zarb-i-Kaleem* (Lahore: Ghulam Ali Publishers, 1972), 61.

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were rapidly penetrating their ideas and successfully created their following in colonial Punjab. The rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement was the outcome of several factors such as the role of modernity, print capital, and use of Urdu language, translation of the scripts into vernacular languages, technological development, and modern education. Although the social and religious transition is a gradual process, yet modernity increased the intensity of this shift. The reciting of the Holy Quran and the Hadith in the public gatherings shifted the attention of the people towards them. They stood as the protector of Islam against the communal activities of the non-Muslims as well.

By the establishment of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in Punjab, the centuries old Sufi ethos was in transition. This transition is visible in many directions; Sufis were looking towards the study of Quran and Hadith at their *Khānaqāhs*, tracing the legitimacy of the devotional shrine ceremonies from Quran and Hadith and turning towards polemical debates. Previously these functions were considered the subject of the *ulamā.*

5.4 **Impact of *Ahl-i-Hadith* on Scriptural Islam**

The impact of the puritanical movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith* is visible on Scriptural Islam. This movement had many influences in the creation of a social milieu in which the authority of Sufi in the religious affairs deranged. Because of religious contestation with Sufism, they created doubts among the followers of the Sufis. This helped the *ulamā* to make their movement more effective particularly in the urban areas of Punjab. The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* also posed Sufism as a threat to the fundamental doctrine of *tauhīd* (oneness of God). They thought that Indian Sufism was identical with Upanishads and Vedic tradition.[918]

Not only the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement single-handedly influenced this shrine-centered Islam but some other factors also helped in challenged the Sufi ethos of Punjab. The influence of Shah Waliullah movement reached in Punjab through different manners. His grandson Shah Ismail's puritan teachings reached through his writings such as *Taqwiat-ul-Imān* and *Serat-i-Mustaqīm*. These books created

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[918] Hardy, *The Muslims of British India,* 27.

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pupils belonged to Punjab. On their return to the native towns, they started preaching a puritan version of Islam. Maulana Ahmad-ud-din Bugvi (1803-1869) taught directly from Shah Abdul Aziz and his maternal grandson Shah Muhammad Ishaq. He stayed in Delhi for fourteen years and studied Hadith. His book *Dalil-ul-Mushrrakīn* (Argument of Polytheists) was something like *Taqwiat-ul-Imān* of Shah Ismail.[919] On the other hand, Punjab was passing through the period of Chishtiyya revivalism. In this situation where some factors were influences already, *Ahl-i-Hadith* were now challenging the prevalent centuries old Sufi tradition of Punjab.

The *ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* declared that several beliefs and practices entered in Sufism from Hinduism. Whenever any *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholar reached the shrine or a village, he strongly attacked these beliefs. Every week the *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar* published articles criticizing the doctrine of Sufis was the main plank of the strategy of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.[920] The Sufis and their supporters Barelvi *ulamā* stood for the defense of the traditional ceremonial practices. On one hand, they laid stress on the practices of intercession and openness to Sufism.[921] Now the Sufis and their supporter *ulamā* also started referring the verses of Holy Quran and Hadith in the favour of their beliefs and practices. Pir Mehr Ali wrote *Ihla il Kalimat Ullah* (Exalting the Words of God) to justify the status of *nazr-o-niyāz* (gifts and oblation).[922] Sufi *Khānaqāh*s were now turning into religious seminaries where the disciples were trained in the affairs of *sharī'at* along with Sufi contemplations. Sial Sharif, Golra Sharif, Alipur Saidan and Jalalpur Sharif established centers for the dissemination of puritanical teachings. Several Sufi *sajjada nishins* traveled to Northern India to study Ouranic commentaries and Hadith scholarship. On returning their native towns, they made full use of this religious education in their debate with other puritan *ulamā* of Deoband and *Ahl-i-Hadith*.

Secondly, they turned towards the reforms of the Sufi cult and the practices associated with the shrines. For example, *sam'* ceremonies were reconstructed at

[919] Anwar Ahmad Bugvi, *Tazkar-i-Bagviya* 2 Vols (Lahore: Khyber International Printers, 2004), 1:110.
[920] It is evident from scrutinizing the volumes of *Ahl-i-Hadith Amritsar.*
[921] Metcalf, *Islam in South Asia,* 101-2.
[922] Mehr Ali Golrvi, *Ihla il Kalimat Ullah* (Exalting the Words of God), (Lahore: Pakistan International Printers, 1985).

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Sargodha), where these were sung without instruments. The reason for this change was that the Sufis had to face bitter opposition in these matters. Now they laid emphasis on the superiority of *sharī'at* over Sufism. It seemed that the supremacy of *sharī'at* had formed the part of Chishtiyya reforms in Punjab.[924] The reformist *pirs* combined the scriptural teachings with the Shrine-centered practices of the pre-colonial Punjab.

This religious contestation helped in the transformation of the composite culture and all-inclusive culture of the Punjab that created by the early Sufis of Chishtiyya and Qadriyya Orders. The Sufis of Chishtiyya and other orders turned not only against the *Ahl-i-Hadith* but also against the Shia.[925] *Ahl-i-Hadith* were smaller in their number but their impact was larger. Even Deoband Movement and its offshoot Tablighi Jama'at also accepted its influences regarding the Shrine-centered Islam. Their impact increased with the passages of time. In addition to this, the advent of modernity and establishment of non-Muslim religious organizations also played their role in bringing the religious harmony into religious animosity. The dependence on oral transmission of knowledge that made Shrine-centered Islam distinctively different from the scriptural Islam believed and professed by orthodox *ulamā*.[926] The shrines were now replaced by the original texts of Quran and Hadith.

Conclusion

In propagating their own perception of Islam what they understood as the real shape of the pristine time of Islam, they were rejecting the Sufi-centerd Islam which was dominant in India and especialy in the Punjab. Now it was their planned strategy to oppose this verstion of Islam. It is noteworthy that there was not a unified character of Sufi Islam because the Sufis were attached with any Sufi order such as Chishtiyya, Qadriyya Suhrwardiyya and Naqshbandiyya at that time. But my intention

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[923] Interview with Sahibzadas Moazzam-ul-Haqq Mehmudi. Darbar Moazzamabad Sharif, District Sargodha, 16 June 2008.

[924] At the *Khānaqāh* of Sial Sharif instruments in *sam'a* ceremonies were totally prohibited. The Shrine of Sial Sharif made popular as well as puritanical Islam accessible to masses. See Mureed Ahmad, *Fauz-ul-Maqal fi Khulafa-i-Pir Sial* , 41. Also see Sanayal, *Devotional Islam,* 46.

[925] Tahir Kamran and Amir Khan Shahid, "Shari'a, Shi'as and *Chishtiyya* Revivalism: Contextualizing the Growth of Sectarianism in the Tradition of the Sialvi Saints of the Punjab" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24, 3, (July, 2014), 477. Also see Khawaja Qamar-ud-Din Sialvi, *Shia Mazhab* (Lahore: Zia-ul-Quran Publications, 2011).

[926] Qasim Zaman, "Commentaries, Print and Patronage," 60.

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in general and syuncretic ethos of the Chishtiyya and Qadriyya orders as a special. Bhagti movement's several traits had some space among many Sufi orders such as *qalanders* and *majzubs*. Ulama of *Ahl-i-Hadith* considered them against the belief of oneness of God.

On the other hand there were Chishtiyya revival among the Sufis of Chishtiyya orders such as pirs of Sial Shrif (Sargodha District) and Golra Shrif (Rawalpindi District).The Barelvis joined these Sufis in defending the Sufi-Centered Islam.

The question that in one place it is asserted that the prime focus of *Ahl-i-Hadith* was on the dissemination of message of Islam among the non-Muslims and on the other it is claimed that they turned to challenge the Sufi character of the Punjab. It has been shown that they worked on several dimensions. They thought it necessary to make Islam free of what they considered as innovations and *shirk.* They also worked to defend Islam against the non-Muslims.

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SUMMING UP

With the disintegration of Mughal dynasty, regional powers rose at the cost of it. In this changing position, *Ulamā* felt the gap and stood for the cause of Islam. Shah Waliullah was the first who uttered the cry of Islam in danger in India.[927] The movement of Shah Waliullah was pluralistic and revivalist in nature.[928] He synthesized the *Wajudi* and *Shuhūdi* doctrine. He wanted to expurgate the Sufism not to expunge. He attempted to minimize the religious differences within the Muslim sects. Similarly, in the matters of Islamic Jurisprudence (*fiqh*) he adopted a way of conciliation and compromise in dealing with the controversy regarding jurisprudence. He asked that there was no strife in the early days of the development of jurisprudence. With the passages of time, certain factors gave rise to the prejudices. He devoted his energies to remove the differences in *fiqh*.

While the interpretation of *shariah* by Shah Ismail and Sayed Ahmad Shaheed clashed with the traditional Sunni Islam that was prevalent in the Northern India and especially in the Punjab.[929] The socio-religious environment of the pre-colonial Punjab was much different as compared to UP. It was constituted with the collaboration of several religions and cultures. The Punjab was a meeting place of several cultures and religions which played a primary role in the promotion of religious syncretism and communal harmony. It was not antagonistic in nature. It was the scenario of Shrine-centered in which the *Jihad* Movement of Sayed Ahmad Shaheed could not get any visible following in this area.

It is very interesting to find that the strong Shrine-centered tradition of the Punjab which took several centuries to develop gave way to the puritanical thrust during the twentieth century. Punjab a place of synthesis of different religions and traditions drew into the hands of Puritanical Movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. Sufis who settled in the Punjab since the eleventh century having their origin in Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, and Central Asia assimilated the elements of local culture with Islamic cultural tradition. They insisted that the right path to reach God was of selfless love

[927] M. A. Karandikar, *Islam in India's Transition to Modernity* (Karachi: Eastern Publishers, 1968), 125.
[928] Ibid., 123.
[929] Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti states that some eighty years ago, the whole of the Muslim population was Sunni (Barelvi). Interview With Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti. Lahore. 20 May 2009.

اگر آپ کو اپنے مقالے یا ریسرچ پیپر کے لیے معقول معاوضے میں معاونِ تحقیق کی ضرورت ہے تو مجھ سے رابطہ فرمائیں۔

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people to move on the right path. Among the Sufi Orders, *Chishtiyya* Sufis played a very vital role in the spreading of the message of mutual respect, religious tolerance, forgiveness, and patience. They successfully changed the aggressiveness, segregation, and hatred created by the Muslim rulers. Bhakti movement also played its positive role in the art of assimilating the traits of several cultures, especially of Islam and Hinduism.

These Sufis established their *khānaqāhs* and devote their time and energies to the spiritual guidance of their devotees. A mosque was constructed nearby for the prayers and training of the disciples. Kitchen facilities were also offered to the people who stayed there irrespective of their religion and caste. The personality of pir attracted the people belonging to the different groups, religions, faiths, caste and creed and different social and economic status. These developed into the center of cultural exchange. Ultimately a new social condition developed where the pir became a role model for the people. This tradition possessed a tolerant and pluralistic vision of Islam, kindness, piety, love and unselfish service to mankind. This shrine-centered Islam was subsequently different from the *Shariah*-based Islam which was articulated by the Movements of return like that of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. This study has focused on the subsequent dislocation of this strong Sufi tradition which was a guarantee against the communal antagonism.

The Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* rose as the strict critic of the Sufi contemplations and their spiritual guidance. They believed that all of these practices were little more than mumbo-jumbo and a deviation from the right path. The Wajudi doctrine, which was the basis of this shrine-centered tradition, was bitterly opposed by the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* especially those who based in Amritsar. Although they opposed Sufi Islam altogether yet they preferred the Shuhūdi ideology of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. Even the reformist Sufis like Mehr Ali Golrvi had to redress the contours of this Wajudi tinge and they assimilated the ingredients of these two different doctrines. The reformist movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith* made a shift from other-worldly asceticism to this worldly by creating suspicious among the people. The other revivalist movement such as Deoband and Tabligh-i-Jama'at also contributed to the act of creating doubts in the belief system of the Punjabi Muslims.

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Weber theory concerning encounter of Catholicism with modernity which resulted into the rise of Protestantism in Christianity as manifested a shift from other-world asceticism to world asceticism. The study has traced the impact of contestation of colonial modernity with the Shrine-centered tradition of Islam in India, which subsequently resulted in the rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement. Hence, the shift from Shrine-Centered Islam to puritanical Islam in the context of the rise of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement is similar to that shift. All the beliefs relating the intercession for a man with God, either of the prophets or the saints, dead or alive were severely attacked. These practices were declared as *shirāk and bid`att*. They appealed the Muslims to learn the pure form of Islam that was prevalent in the days of Prophet Muhammad and the Pious Caliphs. For this purpose, they would have to study the Holy Quran and the Hadith. The pir as an inter-mediator between the man and God was denied. They rejected all the mediatory organizational forms such as saintly intercession, *urs*, *qawwāli*, *ghiarwin,* visit the tombs of saints, veneration of pir, observation of *maulud sharif*, *fatiha* and *samah-i-maota*.[930]

The Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* reached the *urs* ceremonies of the Sufi saints and criticized them. They realized the participants of their personal responsibility before God. Thus, the Movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith* fostered this-worldly faith. They recognized that these practices were against the teachings of Islam. And these should be judged on the logical grounds. This pointed towards their modernistic mode of action. And Sufis had to face the intrusion of modernity as well as the attacks of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* revivalist and reformist movement.

Western scientific knowledge and enlightenment had influenced the following of these Sufis. The modern era saw the streak of missions, the founding of the British Raj and the construction of railroads, modern education, industrialization, and relatively centralized administration. These factors influenced the religion of the locals.[931] All these affected the Sufi authority in the matters of religion. As the revivalism and reforms were the product of colonial context.

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[930] S. M. Ikram, *Mauj-i-Kausar* (Lahore: Edara Saqafat Islamiya, 1997), 71.
[931] Ninian Smart, *The World's Religions: Old Traditions and Modern Transformation* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 44.

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the impact of colonial modernity on Punjab, dissemination of religious knowledge in Urdu, the receptiveness of Punjabi mind and its inclination towards the acceptance of new ideas, impact of Northern Indian Reform Movements on Muslim Punjab particularly of *Ahl-i-Hadith* and the rise of Hindu revivalist movements and their explicit anti-Muslim tinge. I have tried in this study to pinpoint the role of *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement in challenging of Shrine oriented ethos of Punjab

With the coming of modernity in Punjab, it dramatically changed the religious harmony into antagonism. Christian missionaries set the stage for the proselytizing activities and introduce the printing presses and translation of the scripts. This gave rise to the reform movements among the Hindus and the Muslims. The onslaught of the Arya Samaj in Lahore feared the Muslims scholars about their religion. Anjumans, Sabhas, Samajis, and societies were established with amazing speed in cities of Punjab. *Ahl-i-Hadith* got popularity through the publication of several newspapers which were for the purpose of preaching as well as the counter attack on their opponents. These were *Ishaat-al-sunnah*,[932] *al-Haadi*[933], *Haft Roza Ahl-i-Hadith, Mahnama Musalman Amritsar, Mahnama Muraqah-i-Qadiani*[934], Tauheed[935], *Mahnama Musalman Sohdara*[936] and *Haft Roza Mubalagh*.[937] They also established their own presses for the publication of tracts and religious books. The books of other categories were also published in these presses and a lot of money was earned. Famous among them were *Anwar ul Islam Press* Amritsar (Abdul Ghafoor Ghaznavi), Sanai Barqi Press Amritsar (Sana Ullah Amritsari in 1930)[938], and Matbah-i-Ahmadi Lahore (Shaikh Muhiy ud Din).[939] It is visible that the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* began to make full use of this western technology of printing.

Through large tracts of polemical writings, the people of secular Punjab have come to be the strict followers of one sect or the other. Public debates, printed tracts, pamphlets, journals, and books all added to the controversies. Religious Scripts were

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[932] It was first newspaper of Ahl-i-Hadith published by Muhammad Hussain Batalvi .
[933] Mir Ibrahim Sialkoti published to counter the activities of Arya Samajis and Ahmadiyya Movement.
[934] These three were published by Maulana Sana Ullah Amritsari.
[935] It was published in April 1927 by Muhammad Daud Ghaznavi and closed after one year.
[936] It was launched by Abdul Majeed Sohdari in 1920.
[937] Haji Muhammad Ishaq published from Amritsar and soon it was closed. See Muhammad Aslam Saif, *Tahreek-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 542.
[938] Imam Khan Noshehrvi, *Hindustan mein Ahl-i-Hadith ki Ilmi Khidmat*, 107.
[939] Muhammad Aslam Saif, *Tahreek-i-Ahl-i-Hadith*, 550.

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the ills of the Muslim society by disseminating scriptural Islam. They mostly wrote in Urdu and spread their message to wider audiences. The collision of modernity with the Muslim revivalist movements gave way that they benefitted from modernity. *Ahl-i-Hadith* Movement made full use of the certain elements of modernity. These included the technology of printing, translation of scriptural into local languages, new trends of *munāzara* activities and modern education. After the unsuccessful attempt of 1857, the recourse available for the Muslim was to turn to their indigenous knowledge system based on *madrasa* education. Therefore *madrasa* was established to counteract the new education system introduced by the British and to safeguard their religious and cultural inheritance. Although they opposed the modern education system yet the Muslims who got a modern education were more inclined to accept this new movement.

Sayed Nazir Hussain Delhvi and Nawab Siddique Hasan Khan Bhopali were two prominent personalities who fostered the *Ahl-i-Hadith* doctrine in India. In Punjab, this sect spread with the efforts of Sayed Nazir Hussain and the influence of Nawab Siddique was limited on Punjab. Several Ulamā from Punjab entered the *Madrasa* Naziriya and converted to this sect. They after completing their education spread in the towns and cities of Punjab and constituted their own institutions and mosques for fostering and shaping of their separate religious identity. The aims of the establishment of these schools were to prepare well-equipped Ulamā who remained dedicated to speeding scriptural teachings. In this way, the students who complete their education of the Holy Quran, the Hadith and other essential knowledge became prayer leaders, writers, *munazars* and teachers and thus proliferate the puritanical teachings. Some of them, on returning their homes opened their own religious schools and thus the following of *Ahl-i-Hadith* increased.

The reason behind the rapid establishment of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* schools and mosques was that they were banned from offering daily prayers in the traditional Sunni mosques and in this milieu they thought that it would be better to build their own mosques and *madaras* so that they could independently instruct their own perception of Islam. By doing so, they were able to compose considerable following for their survival. It is striking that the *Ulamā* of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were very active in

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than the Muslim majority districts. There were about thirty *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s in twelve Muslim minority districts and western Punjab had only eleven *Ahl-i-Hadith madrasa*s. The reason was that in minority districts the *Ulamā* felt that Islam was in danger whereas in Muslim majority districts there was not any kind of fear of deprivation.

The students who got admission in the seminaries of the *Ahl-i-Hadith* gained religious zeal and then disseminated it wherever they went. The people turned towards them for the religious guidance as they announced that the holy Quran and the Hadith were only the two sources of Islamic teachings.

Munāzara tradition also helped *Ahl-i-Hadith* in fostering their ideology. The doctrinal contestation helped in sharpening the identities and religious awareness was the intended outcome of this movement. In this contestation, they declared their rivals as an infidel or misguided or even denied their status of being Muslim. The new *munāzara* style changed the religious harmony of colonial Punjab into religious animosity. The Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* remained busy in *munāzaras* activities in two directions. Firsly, against the non-Muslims (inter religious debates) and secondly, against the other sects of the Muslims (intra religious debates). Against the Non-Muslims, their claim was that they were defending Islam, whereas they stood against the other Muslim sects considering them as *bid`atti* or *musharrak*. The phenomena of *bid`att* and *shirāk* remained their hallmark throughout the history of *Ahl-i-Hadith* in Punjab. Through these *munāzaras* services, they were able to reach the wider audience. They through this technique flourished their ideas in the cities and towns and hence helped in establishing their basis there. In these *munāzaras,* the main focus of the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* was on the denouncing the beliefs of the Sufis and Barelvi.

Conversely, during the *munāzara* activities against the Christian missionaries, Arya Samajis and Ahmadis, Sunni Muslims normally called *Ahl-i-Hadith* scholars such as Sana Ullah Amritsari for the presentation of Muslim stance. Sana Ullah was a frequent speaking guest at various annual gatherings of local education and welfare societies in Lahore, Sialkot, and other cities. In this way, they had access to a broader audience and this gave them a chance of proliferation of their ideas.

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relations amongst the three strong communities' Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were quite friendly. After the Khilafat Movement riots occurred in the cities of Multan, Lahore, Amritsar, Karnal and Rawalpindi simaltaneously. The main sources of these riots were *Muharam ceremonies,* cow-slaughter by the Muslims on the event of *Eid-ul-Izha*, the ringing of the bells at the prayer times by the Sikhs and the Hindus, and music before the mosques. The communal antagonism decomposed the elements of syncretism rapidly and the authority in the matters of religion was now shifted towards the religious clerics who were considered the owner of the scriptural scholarship. Thus, the personal responsibility and this-worldly consciousness were furthered by the reform movement of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. It created among the followers a sense of great *Ummah* and on the other side a sense of individual appearance before God.

It would be argued that this religious transition was an evolutionary process. But my contention is that this tremendous transition was aired by the advent of colonial modernity. Modernity benefited the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect. The modernity helped the puritanical shift. Preaching tools of Christian missionaries brought a serious blow to the syncretism of the pre-colonial Punjab. The presence of three powerful communities in Punjab led towards communalism. The communal press, the denominational educational institutions, and proselytization all played their part in intensifying inter communal hatred and rivalry.[940] The people of Punjab were most receptive to modernity. The Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam was established in 1884 and 53 other anjumans were also formed in different parts of Punjab to spread modern education among the Muslims.

Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith* successfully created their following in towns and cities. The collective influence of extensive publication, oral debates, preaching tours, speeches delivered in mosques helped in establishing their institutions over wide areas of Punjab. They delivered their sermons in accordance with the scriptural knowledge based on Quran and Hadith which attracted a lot of people towards them. This led to a spectacular increase in the *Ahl-i-Hadith* sthe ect, especially in Punjab. By reading the

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[940] Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. III, 1928, 397.

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Muslims.

Another puritan transition occurred among the Sufis of Punjab as a result of their doctrinal contestation with the Ulamā of *Ahl-i-Hadith*. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the reform movement produced a new milieu in the colonial religious structure. Several Sufis turned towards the scriptural Islamic reforms as the result of an attack of *Ahl-i-Hadith Ulamā* on the Sufi Islam because they were very strict reformers who challenged Sufi character as compared to Deoband.[941] Deobandi Ulamā was not categorical in opposing the Sufism. They remained to attach with pirs. But *Ahl-i-Hadith* rejected the mediatory organizational reforms.[942] Modernity played its role in the realization of religious identity. It changed the way of life. The technology based economy was the gift of modernity. Urbanization, modern education system, bureaucratic style and advertizing agencies all played their role in this social change.[943] A number of their mosques, *madrasas*, printing presses, newspapers and preaching centers indicated that they grew in colonial Punjab at the cast of erosion of Sufi Islam.

A by-product of the partition was the destruction of several cities in Punjab. The most notable of these was Amritsar. Almost 40 percent of the houses of Amritsar were destroyed. The Muslim population of the city fell from 49 percent in 1947 to 0.52 percent in 1951.[944] The main centers of *Ahl-i-Hadith* were located in the East Punjab that were demolished in 1947. As a result, the movement penetrated in Western Punjab more rapidly.

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941 David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (London: I. B. Tauris$ Co Ltd, 1988), 61.
942 Ibid., 55.
943 S. M. A. Sayeed, *Islamic Modernism*, 23.
944 Ian Talbot, "A Tale of Two Cities: The Aftermath Partition for Lahore and Amritsar 1947-1957" *Modern Asian Studies*, 41, 1, (2007), 151.

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GLOSSARY

Abwab-us-sarf: Chapters on Arabic Grammar.

Adab: etiquettes.

Adam: The father of all human beings.

Adi Granth: sacred scripture of the Sikhs.

Agni: Deity of Hindus.

Ahkaam: commands.

Ahl-i-Hadith: a Muslim sect that rejects the four School of fiqh (jurisprudence) and prefer direct recourse to the Holy Quran and the Hadith.

Ahl-i-Quran: The followers of The Holy Quran. A new sect, whose founder was Abdullah Chakralvi. In the beginning he was a staunch follower of *Ahl-i-Hadith* sect and was appointed as *khatib* in Jamia Masjid Chinianwali Lahore.

Ahmadis: The followers of Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani.

Ahmadiyya: A reform and modernist movement which appeared in Punjab in the 1890s and it proclaimed to be the Muslim. The other sects of Islam excluded them from the banner of Islam.

Ahrar: (plural of *Hur*) Free men

Ahwal-i-Akhrat: Conditions of the Next World.

Ajaibat-i-Mirza: Wonders of Mirza.

Akhbar: Newspaper.

Akhri: Last.

Alim: A Muslim scholar.

Al-Fahrist: A book written by Ibn Nadeem Baghdadi.

Al-Falasifa: A book written by Imam Ghazali.

Al-Hakam: An Urdu newspaper published by Anjuman Ahmadiyya.

Al-Jamaraat: Throwing a stone on Satan.

Al Mufridat: Arabic dictionary.

Alkalam ul Mubin: Declared Words.

Amal bil Hadith: The follower of Hadith, Generally known as *Ahl-i-Hadith*

Ameen bil jahr: Calling the word amen loudly while bowing to the prayes.

Amir: Commander.

Amir ul Momaneen: The commander of the faithful.

Anandmath: A novel written by a Bankim Chatterjee.

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Angreez: The British.

Anjuman: association.

Anwar-i-Shamsia: Lights of the sun.

Aqaid-i-Mirza: Beliefs of Mirza.

Armaghan-i-Hanif: Gifts of Hanif

Asar: Prayer offered by the Muslims before the sun set.

Asbaat-i-Taslees: Proofs of Trinity.

Asbaat-i-Tauheed: Proofs of Oneness of God

Asharites: A school of Islamic philosophers.

Ashraf: the privileged men folk, the well-born, in India especially Sayed, Shaikh.

Ashrafia: Noblemen among the Muslims.

Asl: real.

Asrar: secrets.

Aur: And.

Awaleen: The pioneer.

Ayat: Literally means symptom, in Islamic terminology ayat, means verse of Quran, a small part of the surah.

Azan: The Muslim call to prayer.

Baghi: Rebel.

Bagh-i-Fidak: Garden of *Fidak*, Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad claimed her inheritance during the caliphate of Abu Bakr.

Bahishti Darwaza; the door of paradise, janati darwaza at the shrine of Baba Farid. It is believed that the visitants who passed through it are just like passing through paradise.

Bai'at: a vow of allegiance to a pir, pledge of allegiance of a Sufi disciple to his master by grasping his hand.

Bai`at ul Hikmat: The Home of wisdom.

Baraheen al Ayat: Arguments of Verses.

Baraat Ahl Hadith: Warrant of *Ahl-i-Hadith*.

Baraka: blessing.

Batan: Body.

Bayyanat: Description.

Bazmay Arjamandan, Society of Honorable.

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Bharat: India.

Bhakti: devotional Movement of Hindus in the medieval period in India.

Bibi ki sahnak: a container of food delivered in the name of Fatima (R. A), the daughter of the Holy Prophet.

Bid`att: Innovations in religious matters.

Bid`atti: A Muslim who acts on religious innovations.

Bidha: Innovation

Bihishti Zawer; jewels of paradise, a book written by Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi.

Brahin-i-Ahmadiyya: Arguments of Ahmadiyya

Brahmin; a member of a priestly Hindu caste who deals with religious affairs.

Barr-i-Sagheer: Subcontinent.

Bukhari: an original text of Hadith, written by Imam Ismail Bukhari.

Burhan ul Haqq: Argument of truth.

Chabuk: Rod.

Chasham: Eye.

Chaliswan: Fortieth day of the died.

Chilla: engagement in fasting and divine worship in which the Sufi is completely separated from the world.

Chilla Maqus: Reciprocal divine worship.

Chishtiyya: Sufi order among the Muslim propagated in India by Moin-ud-Din Ajmiri during the first half of the thirteenth century.

Dalil ul Furqan ala Mazhab al Nauman: Differentiated Arguments for the Religion of Abu Hanifa.

Darbar: Royal court.

Dar behis Aqad Umm-i-Kalsoom: Discussion on the marriage of Umm-i-Kalsoom

Dar-ul-baqa: The home of Immortality.

Dar-ul-harb: The home of war. the country where Islam was banned.

Dar-ul-Islam: The home of Islam, the country of the Muslim.

Dar-ul-Hadith: Home of Hadith

Dar-ul-Salam: The country of peace.

Dar-ul-Uloom: School of Islamic learning.

Dars: Lesson.

Dars-i-Quran: The lesson on the Holy Quran.

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Dastar-bandi: Tying of the turban is a ceremony in which a Sufi appointed a successor or Sajjada nashin by presenting his turban to the latter.

Daulat al Makkiyya bil Maat al Ghaibiyya: The Wealth of Mecca with the matter of *Ghaib*.

ẕikr: Sufi practice designed to the remembrance of God, reading of Quran and reciting the names of God as a spiritual exercise.

Dir: a temple where idols are worshipped.

Diwan: chief officer or the custodian of the Shrine of Baba Farid.

Doo: Two.

Dulhas: Groom.

Ezhar-ul-Haqq: Expression of Truth.

Elhami Kitab: Revealed Book

Faisla: Decision.

Falah ul Nabi bi Ittabah ul Nabi: Welfare of Prophet in the submission of Prophet.

Fatawā: Ruling of a Muslim religious expert in jurisprudence.

Fateh: conqueror.

Fateh-ul-Mubin: Obvious Victory.

Fatiha: Reciting of Holy Quran for the benefit of the died person.

Fatiha khalf ul Imam: Reciting the Chapter of Fatih behind Imam in the prayers.

Fatuhat: Victories.

Fiqh: Jurisprudence.

Fiqhi: Relating to Jurisprudence.

Fiqh ul sunnat: Jurisprudence of Hadith.

Fraizi: obligatory. A movement ushered by Haji Shariat Ullah in the early twenty century.

Frangi: The British

Gadi: a seat of pir.

Ganj: treasure.

Ghair-i-Muqallid: One who does not follow anyone of the main Sunni law Schools but only accept the authority of the Quran and the Hadith, *Ahl-i-Hadith*.

Ghaus: helper, The higher degree of a saint.

Gurmukhi: a script in which Grinth of Guru Nanak is written.

Gulistan Hadith: Garden of the Hadith.

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Hadith ul Nabvi aur Taqlid Shakhsi: Traditions of The Holy Prophet and personal following.

Hadith: Traditions of the Holy Prophet.

Hadus Ruh: Occurrence of the spirit.

Hafiz: a person who memorized the Holy Quran.

Hajj: The annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

Hakim: One who deals with classical Muslim system of medicine.

Halqah: Circle, ring, Following.

Hanbli: Referring to the Sunni legal School ascribed to Ahmad bin Hanbal.

Hanafi: Referring to the Sunni legal School ascribed to Abu Hanifa.

Hanafite: The follower of Imam Abu Hanifa

Hanif: The followers of the true faith.

Haqq: Real or truth. Light

Haqq Parkash: Real Light

Harmain Sharifain: The Holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

Hashia: Review

Hayat-o-Khidmat: Life and services

Hayat-i-nabi: Life of the Prophet.

Hayat-i-Nazir: Life of Nazir.

Hazar-o-Nazar: Present and Observer.

Hijrat: Migration.

Hujjat Ullah al–Baligah: The conclusive Argument from God, a book written by Shah Waliullah Delhvi.

Hindustan: India.

Huliya: External appearance.

Husamal: Sword.

Ijazat: permission in the Sufi context, to admit disciples of one's own into a particular order.

Ijtihad: Exegesis of divine law on matters of theology and law.

Ilham: Revelation.

Ilhamaat-i-Mirza: Revelation of Mirza.

Ilam-i-ghaib: Knowledge of invisible things and events.

Ilm-ul-Kalam: Muslim theology.

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Imkan-i-nazir: The possibility of an equal.

Imarat al Masajid: Buildings of Mosque.

Imtinah-i-nazir: The impossibility of an equal.

Inaami: For Prize.

Irtiqa: Evolution.

Isha'at: Publication.

Ishaat-al-sunnah: Proliferation of Sunnat.

Ihtisab-i-Qadianiat: Accountability of Qadianiat.

Ishtihar Tehreeri Munāzara: Poster for written debate.

Istianat bil ghair: seeking spiritual guidance other than God.

Istimda: Intercession.

Itebah ul Hasanah: Beautiful Submission

Jalsa istarahat, Rest after the first prostration in prayer.

Jamia al Fawaid: Comprehension of benefits.

Jamia al Shawahid fi Ikhraj al Wahhabian an Al Masjid: Exclusion of Wahhabis from the Mosques.

Jawabaat Nasara: Answers to Christians.

Jihad: a holy war against unbelievers.

*Jihad*i: Fighter of holy war.

Jumma fi qaryah: Friday Prayer in a village.

Kafia: A book of Arabic Grammar.

Kafir: non-Muslim, infidel.

Kali: Hindu goddess.

Karishin: The Apollo of the Hindus.

Karma: Religious action.

Kashaf ul Iltabas: The highest similarities.

Kashif: Opening, A manifestation of God.

Kashif al Makaid: Opening of deceits.

Khalifa: caliph, successor to a Sufi master.

Khānaqāh: a building situated at the shrine of a pir, Sufi hospice, usually a large compound where the pir and his family as well as devotees live, often a school, a free kitchen, and other facilities were attached.

Kharaj: Excluded.

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Khateeb: Prayer leader**.**

Khatoon-i-Jannat ki Sahnak: Food for reverence of Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad

Khatibs: one who lead in prayers,

Khawaja: a tittle of a learned person.

Khilafat: Caliphate

Khilafat-ul-Muslameen: Caliphate of Muslims

Khilafat ul Muhammadi: The caliphate of Muhammad

Khulafa-i-Rashdeen: The Pious Caliphs

Khutbat: addresses.

Kufar: Infidelity.

Krishna: The Apollo of the Hindus.

Kitab ul Rehman: Book of God

Landa Bazar: A bazar near Lahore Railway Station.

Lawaih: A book of Abdul Rehman Jami.

Langar; free kitchen provided at shrines.

Lukh Data; Giver of hundreds of thousands.

Madrasa; a Muslim school for religious education.

Mahamad: The Characteristics.

Mahal: Palace.

Mahdi; The 'rightly guided one' who will appear at the end of time to establish Islam.

Maharaj: Lord.

Maktab: A primary religious school.

Mujahideen: Warriors in the defense of the true faith.

Majlis-i-Istaqbalia: Welcome committee.

Majlis Tahafuz-i-khatma-i-Nabuwwat: Defense Committee for the finality of the Prophet-hood.

Manqulat: 'copied subjects' the Quran and the Hadith.

Maqam: Grade, place.

Maqulat: Products of man's reasoning.

Maslak: Sect

Maslak-i-Aust; Right path.

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Companions of the Prophet.

Mantaq: Leogic.

Maqulad: Follower of any Imam of jurisprudence.

Matlah Anwa'ar: Rising of Lights

Maulana: our lord, a title given to a religious Muslim schlor.

Mawahid: Believing in one God.

Maya: Wealth.

Mazhab: Religion.

Messiah: the title of Jesus.

Mihraj: Ascension of the Holy Prophet to Heaven.

Mihyar ul Haqq: Quality of Truthfulness.

Mirat ul Ashaiqeen: Privileges of Lovers.

Mirza: a Persian title, gentleman. Normally Mughal uses this title.

Mizan-ul-Haqq: Measure the Truth.

Mohad: Believing in One God.

Masjid: Mosque.

Moulvies: Muslim Scholars

Muaraf ul Quran: Perception of Holy Quran

Mubahla: Cursing one another.

Mubahsa: Polemical debate.

Mufasar: Interpreter of Holy Quran.

Mufti; a jurisconsult, one who issues a *fatwā*.

Muhadith: a scholar of Hadith.

Muharram: first month of Islamic calendar.

Mujaddid: A renewer of the *Shariah*, expected once every Hijri century.

Mujahideen: Muslim warriors fighting for the faith.

Mujtahid: One who is qualified to engage in ijtihad.

Mulud-ul-Nabbi: Birthday anniversary of the Holy Prophet.

Mullah: Muslim scholar.

Munāzara: inter-religion or intra-religion oral debate or written polemical work, usually between religious scholars.

Munafiqeen; The hypocrites in the days of the Prophet Muhammad were given this name in the revelation of Quran.

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Muraqah-i-Qadiyani: Portfolio of Qadiyani.

Mutafiqqa: Agreed.

Muqadas Rasul: Holy Prophet.

Muqallid; The followers of anyone school of Islamic jurisprudence.

Manqulat: Scriptural books like as Quran and Hadith

Murid; disciple of a pir.

Murshid; Teacher.

Mutazillites; A school of Islamic philosophers.

Musharrak; idolator.

Mushriqeen; plural of the word Musharrak.

Na'at: Poetry in praise of the Prophet

Nabuhwat; prophet-hood.

Najran; a place at the boundary of Syria and Arab.

Namdhari; Sikh religious organization.

Naqshbandi; A Sufi order propagated in India by Baqi Billah.

Naqoosh: Symbols.

Nasaara; The Christians were called as Nasaara by the Muslims.

Nasukh; Abrogation.

Nathuri: Naturalist.

Nawab; a viceroy, lord.

Nazara; indicates to look, to view or to have outlook.

Niaz; a gift given to Sufi by his murid.

Nida-i-Ghaib: Intercession from the dead saint.

Nida-i-ghair: seeking intercession other than God.

Nikah: Marriage.

Nisab-ul-fiqh: Syllabus.

Nafi Simah-i-maota: Denying the listening of the dead.

Nizam: System.

Noor: Light:

Padre; a Christian religious leader, a missionary.

Pandit: Hindu religious leader.

Pakki Rotti: Cooked bread.

Parcharak: Preacher.

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Prakash: Light.

Pir: a Muslim Sufi saint.

Pir-i-Muridi: the relation between spiritual guide and disciple, which entails absolute obedience of the murid to his pir, popular practice.

Qadriyya: a mystical order originated by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani in Baghdad.

qawwāli: Singing with musical accompaniment at sufi devotional exercises, often leading to a state of ecstasy

Qazi: judge of *shariah* law.

Qiyam: standing for respect of Holy Prophet during slam ceremony.

Qiyas: Religious judgment.

Radd-i-Qadianiat: The refutations of Qadianiat.

Radday Taqleed: Refutation of Imitation.

Rafah yadain: Raising the hands while bowing in the prayer.

Ramazan: The ninth month of Muslim calendar.

Rangila Rasul: The colorful Prophet.

Rasul Akram ki Namaz: The prayer of the Holy Prophet.

Rig Veda; Old Hindu religious script about which they believed as revealed Holy Book.

Sabha: council.

Sadaaqat-i-Mazhab: Truthfulness of Religion.

Sadhu; Hindu holy man.

Saffar: Distance.

Sahaba: Companions of the Holy Prophet.

Saif-ul-Sunnat: Sword of Sunnat.

Sajjada nashins: custodian of a Sufi shrine, successor to a pir.

Sama: literally meaning, hearing, listening to music.

Sanad; certificate or testimonial.

Sardar: Lord.

Sargusashtf-i-Mujahideen: Accounts of Warriors

Sat Dharam Pracharak: Herald of the true religion

Satyarth Prakash: The Light of Truth, a book written by Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj.

Sayed; descendants of the Holy Prophat through Hazrat Fatima (R. A).

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Shahadat ul Quran: Witnesses of the Holy Quran.

Shaikh: elder, often for pir.

Seerat: Character.

shari'at; the sacred law of Islam.

Shihab-i-Saqib: Shining Meteor.

Shirāk; idolatry, associating partners with God.

Shuhūdi: the mystical movement started by Mujaddid Alf Sani to confront

Wajudi Order: The Sufis who believed in the Unity of Being.

Shaheed: Martyr.

Shirāk Jali: Clear idolatry.

Shuddi: purification.

Silsila: order or chain.

Simah-i-mota: seeking intercession from the saint after his death.

Singh Sabha: An Anjuman of Sikh religion

Sirat-i-Mustaqim: The Right path

Suffa: Platform.

Sufi; Muslim mystic, a pir.

Sulleh-i-Kul; peace with all.

Sultan: Ruler.

Sultani: The Hindu devotees of Sakhi Sarwar

Sunnat: the tradition of the Prophet.

Sunni: A sect of the Muslim who believe in the four Pious Caliphs.

Surah Fatiha: The first chapter of the Holy Quran.

Tabai: the disciple of the companions of the Prophet.

Tabaiat: the feature of being the discipleship of the Prophet.

Talaq: Divorce.

Talaq-i-rajai: Divorce in which the husband can go back to his wife.

Tabligh; Preaching.

Tasawwur-i-Shaikh: the imagining the Sufi.

Tafsir; Exegesis of Quran, commentary.

Tahrif; Transposition of words.

Tahqeeq Aniq: Fabricated Research

Taid-ul-Islam: Help of Islam.

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Tanqeed-i-Taqlid: Criticism on Imitation.

Taqlid; literally 'imitation' following one of the Sunni schools in preference to *ijtihad*.

Tarawih: Special night prayer with the reference of Ramazan.

Tark-i-Islam; Leaving Islam, abandoned Islam.

Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyya: The path of Muhammad.

Tasaruf; the dramatic expenditure of energy by a Shaikh on his disciple to change his behaviour.

Tasawwuf: Sufism.

Tasawwur-i-Shaikh: a meditation on the shaikh by the disciple as a technique of spiritual disciple.

Tauhid: Oneness of God.

Ta'widh; an amulet given by pir to his disciples.

Tehreek: Movement.

Taqabal-i-Salasah: Comparaison of the three.

Taqlid-i-Imameen Arhbah: The following the four Imam.

Taqwiat-ul-Iman: Strengthening the Faith.

Tehreek-i-La Mazhab: Movement of without religion.

Tosha: food.

Tazkara: Descriptons.

Ulamā: Muslim learned man in Islamic sciences.

Ummah: The whole Muslim community.

'urs: literally means 'wedding' but in Islam, the death ceremony of a Sufi saint celebrated by the followers of Sufis.

Vedas; exegetical texts for Hindu rituals.

Ustad; master.

Usul: Principle

Wahhabi: the followers of Abdul Wahab, an eighteen century Arab rebewer

Wahdat-ul-Shuhúd; phenomenological monism.

Wahdat-ul-Wajud; Unity of Being.

Yogic: pertaining to yogis.

Ya Rasul Allah: A call to the Prophet for the help

Yoga: Hindu religious disciplines for achieving unity of mind and body.

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Zahiri: Appeared

Zeenat ul Islam: Ornaments of Islam.

Zeenat ul Quran: Ornaments of the Quran.

Zakat: mandatory alms-tax on accrued wealth.

Zia-i-Islam; the light of Islam.

Zirat-al-Qubur: the visitation of the graves.

Zinda; alive.